

CHANGING AMERICAN ATTITUDES TOWARD THE CHINESE
IN THE UNITED STATES

by

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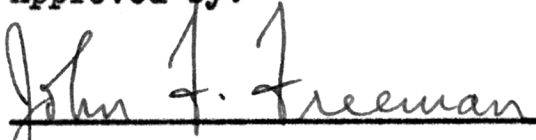

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INTRODUCTION

Today Chinese-Americans are second only to the Japanese-Americans in number and constitute a remarkably large body of Orientals in the United States. Political problems in China as well as density of population have stimulated Chinese immigration to the United States. Since the Chinese were faithful allies of America in the First and Second World Wars, they are welcomed to the United States. Many Chinese have been educated here and most of them desire to become American citizens after the mandatory residence of five years.

The present situation is quite different from that of eighty years ago when the Chinese were called the "Yellow Peril". To explain this change, it was necessary to study the history of the Chinese in the United States.

It is obvious that particular events have played an important role in bringing about the change under consideration. For that reason, the thesis begins and ends with an account of the facts surrounding Chinese immigration, the treatment of the Chinese, as well as exclusion and its repeal from 1850 to 1943. It is the intention of the thesis, however, to analyze various American attitudes toward the Chinese, since changes in attitudes had at least as dramatic consequences as the events themselves.

CHAPTER I

HISTORY OF CHINESE IMMIGRATION IN THE UNITED STATES, 1850-1943

I. Reasons for Chinese Immigration

The reasons for Chinese immigration to the United States during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were essentially what the causes of immigration had always been for all peoples: hard conditions at home, and the promise of greater opportunity in America. It can be assumed that the number of immigrants at any given time was determined in the main by economic conditions in the United States which have exercised a large influence on incoming aliens. In his excellent book, Migration and Business Cycles, Harry Jerome says that except for universal disaster in the home country, the time of arrival of immigrants was influenced by conditions in America. The "pull" was stronger than the "push." Jerome lays down the general rule that when prosperity is being experienced, immigration is relatively high; when depression reigns, it is relatively low.

In addition to this basic economic factor, other causes operated. These included the stimulation of immigration by shipping companies, land speculators, industrial employers, and publications. The Chinese immigrants could not

escape from these various factors. However, many of the Chinese immigrants in the nineteenth century were driven from China by economic depression at home.

In the homeland, the Chinese faced overcrowded conditions prevailing in parts of China, especially in the southeastern provinces. Millions were in danger of starvation. There were often droughts and famine in the provinces of Chihli, Shantung, Fukien, and Kwangtung. The ill effects of such conditions were compounded by a deflationary market. The depression was also added to by the continuation of wars and revolts by which the Chinese had tried to protect the Ming dynasty against the invading Manchus in the seventeenth century, the outbreak of the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864), and a new series of wars in the latter half of the nineteenth century against the Western Powers. Taxes, cost of war and indemnity increased while destruction and uncertainty brought loss and suffering to the people. In the case of the Chinese in the above mentioned four provinces, they were accustomed to contacts with foreigners and possessed reports which gave them better opportunities for emigration than were possessed by their compatriots in the interior. Chinese emigrants were also driven by psychic forces: they have generally been energetic men, with an adventurous spirit; and their business acumen, coupled with grit and gumption, contributed to making their wanderings successful.¹

¹Eliot Grinnell Mears, Resident Orientals on the Pacific Coast (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928), p. 1.

In addition to factors contributing to a "push" from within, external influences were also effective. The first of these was the lure of gold discovered in California in 1848. Chinese were also attracted by tales of high wages offered to gap-fillers, that is, men doing menial, petty, and laborious work which white men would not do and for which their experience and their native characteristics especially prepared them. Thus, thousands of Chinese kept in their mind that "to be starved and to be buried in the sea are the same;" so, they made the passage to the United States. Since the transportation to the Pacific coast was easier and cheaper than to the Atlantic coast, a great number of Chinese immigrants were found early in California, especially in San Francisco.²

There were several ways by which a Chinese might meet the expense of the voyage to America: sell his small shop; leave his farm in the hope of bringing back enough money to pay off troublesome debts or add a few acres to the farm; accept contributions from relatives, or borrow money at a high rate of interest, the money to be repaid upon the immigrant's return.³

Early Chinese immigrants were accused of being contract

²Elmer Clarence Sandmeyer, The Anti-Chinese Movement in California (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1939), pp. 13-17.

³George F. Seward, Chinese Immigration, in Its Social and Economical Aspect (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1881), p. 4.

labor, which was regarded as a system of slavery or coolie-trade, forbidden by a United States law. In 1862, there was an investigation into the matter and a committee of the California Legislature of 1862 concluded that:

Your committee is satisfied that there is no system of slavery or coolieism among the Chinese in this State. If there is any proof to establish the fact that any portion of the Chinese are imported into this State as slaves or coolies, your committee has failed to discover it.⁴

From 1868 to 1876, there was a second influx of Chinese immigration to the United States. This was a result of two factors: the friendly policy of the Burlingame Treaty and its free immigration, and the booming period of manufacturing industries in San Francisco, causing need for cheap labor to make it possible to compete with Eastern products.⁵ Moreover, the Chinese immigrants were needed for construction work, especially in the West, between 1868 and 1876 while white labor was scarce. After the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and following the Chinese exclusion laws, Chinese immigration was reduced. The Statistical Review of Immigration, in 1911,⁶ states that during 1899-1910 Chinese immigration constituted only 1.6 per cent of the total immigration to the United States while at the same time the Irish immigration constituted 9 per cent. But, the Chinese percentage increased in

⁴Quoted by Seward. Ibid., p. 156.

⁵Ping Chiu, Chinese Labor in California (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1963), pp. 90-127.

⁶U. S. Congress, Senate, Statistical Review of Immigration, 1820-1910, 61st Cong., 3rd Sess., 1911, p. 45.

each decade since 1840-1870. This was due to the Chinese revolution, riots, and revolts since 1900. The increase in 1930 reflected the large number of admissions of children born abroad of United States citizens.⁷ The figures for the Chinese movement to the United States, 1820-1930, are:⁸

Years	Numbers of Chinese Immigrants
1820-1830	3
1831-1840	8
1841-1850	35
1851-1860	41,397
1861-1870	123,201
1871-1880	61,711
1881-1900	14,899
1901-1910	20,605
1911-1920	21,278
1921-1930	<u>29,907</u>
Total	377,245

In additon to registered immigrants, after the series of Chinese exclusion laws, there were also a large number of Chinese who entered the United States without any registration and unknown to the United States Bureau of the Census. Chinese smuggled into this country reached a high number because of the difficulties of protecting a long coast-line and because of dishonest officials. James Bronson Reynolds, in an article in The Annals of the Academy of Political and Social

⁷Shien-woo Kung, Chinese in American Life (Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press, 1962), p. 86.

⁸M. R. Davie, World Immigration (New York: MacMillan Co., 1949), p. 309.

Science in 1909, proposed as ways to enforce the Chinese Exclusion Law: the improvement of the calibre of Chinese interpreters, a more careful observation of the distinction between different classes of Chinese, improvement in the organization of the Bureau of Immigration, and improvement of the examination by the American consuls in China of Chinese applying for admission to the United States.⁹

There were several routes used by which the Chinese were smuggled into the United States without passing through the Immigration Office:¹⁰

a. The Canadian Route. When the United States excluded Chinese laborers, Canada still opened her arms to them. From 1882 to 1923 when the admission of Chinese labor was totally excluded by the United States, Canada admitted it, subject to an admission toll. So, during this long period, the Chinese laborers could easily get into Canada by paying a sum of money. When they got into Canada, they could cross the boundary line without much difficulty. Emigrating Chinese made bargains with those Chinese whose business it was to

⁹J. Bronson Reynolds, "Enforcement of the Chinese Exclusion Law," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, XXXIV (July-December, 1909), pp. 365-74.

¹⁰Ching-chao Wu, Chinatowns, a Study of Symbiosis and Assimilation (Chicago, Illinois: Chicago University Press, 1928), pp. 119-131.

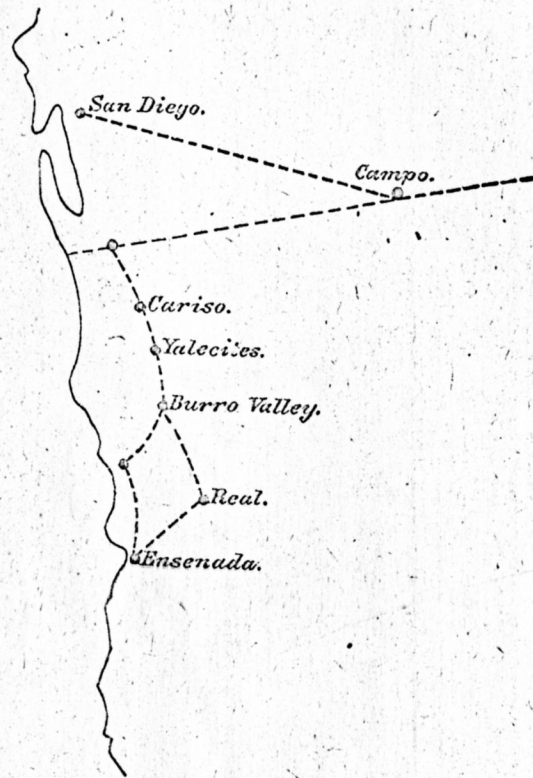
U. S., Congress, House, Enumeration of the Chinese Population of the United States, 51st Cong., 1st Sess., 1889-1890, No. 486, pp. 1-2.

U. S., Congress, Senate, Report Relative to the Immigration of Chinese, 51st Cong., 1st Sess., 1889-1890, Ex. Doc. 97, part 5-9.

arrange for the carriage of their countrymen into the United States. The smuggler, so said Dr. Wu in Chinatowns, A Study of Symbiosis and Assimilation, charged \$20-25 for landing each Chinese on the American coast. He further stated that wherever the Chinese were landed, they would find either men of their own nationality to hide them, or white men awaiting their arrival and ready to take them to some Chinese quarters. When a Chinese had made his way to one of the larger towns or cities near the coast, his fear of detection by the American government vanished entirely. Since the boundary line between Canada and the United States extends from the Pacific to the Atlantic, the Chinese could choose any convenient place and walk over from one country to another.

b. The Mexican Route. According to Dr. Wu, Mexico and China entered into treaty relations in December, 1899. By the treaty signed at this time, the people of each country were given entire freedom to go, travel, reside, and engage in commerce in the other country. Thus, when the Americans closed their doors to Chinese laborers, and when the Canadians extorted a toll from the newcomers, the Mexican ports were free of charge. Mexico was therefore a cheaper place for the smugglers to operate an underground railway.

c. The West Indian Route. The West Indian Islands which were not under the control of the United States had no exclusion laws against the Chinese. The two islands, Cuba and Jamaica, which are nearest to the United States, were chosen as headquarters of smuggling rings.



MAP OF CHINESE UNDERGROUND RAILWAY, MEXICO TO UNITED STATES. *

S. Ex. 97, Pt 7—51-1.

*Senate Executive Documents, 51st Cong., 1st Sess.,
1889-90, Vol. 9, Ex. Doc. 97, pt. 7.

Coming in by various illegal routes, the smuggling Chinese found that they could conceal themselves in freight cars, on flat cars under the lumber, on boats, on box cars, on fruit vessels, in large water tanks, in motor cars, or in airplanes. As soon as the Chinese were smuggled in, the next thing for them to do was to hide in such a way as not to be discovered. In case they were discovered, they could sometimes avoid deportation by claiming United States citizenship. Inflicting penalties for illegal entry were completely ineffective in keeping out smuggled Chinese. Datus E. Coon, Chinese Inspector of San Diego, California said:

The children on the streets of this city laugh at me when I inform them that the punishment of a Chinaman, under the "Scott exclusion act," is to put him across the line into Mexico, as they know full well the Mongolian will be in our Chinatown early next morning for breakfast. The question of penalty is one of very grave importance and I am convinced that imprisonment for a violation of the crossing of the line, would too soon fill our prisons to overflowing. When the term of imprisonment has expired the question will arise, "to what country shall they be sent?" Neither of our neighboring nations will submit to become the dumping ground of our "ex-Chinese convicts." As a business transaction, neither the State nor Nation can afford to hold Chinese in prison and then send them to their native land.¹¹

And so, the illegal entries continued.

II. Numbers and Distribution of Chinese in the United States

There are about ten states that have had a considerable number of Chinese in their populations. Each of these states has its Chinatowns, usually at least one Chinatown in

¹¹Ibid., part 7, p. 4.

each city. Los Angeles was said to have two or three Chinatowns. The following rank of ten states according to the Chinese population between 1880 and 1940 shows why anti-Chinese feeling was moving away from the Pacific coast. In 1880 the Chinese population tended to be concentrated on the Pacific coast, which had caused serious conflicts, especially with the Chinese in California. But by 1940, there was a dispersion of the Chinese from the Western to the Eastern coasts and to the South. This was mainly due to the anti-Chinese feeling on the Pacific coast and the scarcity of jobs there because of prejudice. The rank of the ten states according to Chinese population, 1880-1940, was as follows:¹²

<u>Rank</u>		<u>1880</u>		<u>1940</u>
1	California	- 75,132	California	- 39,556
2	Oregon	- 9,510	New York	- 13,731
3	Nevada	- 5,416	Massachusetts	2,513
4	Idaho	- 3,379	Illinois	- 2,456
5	Washington	- 3,186	Washington	- 2,345
6	Montana	- 1,765	Oregon	- 2,086
7	Arizona	- 1,630	Pennsylvania	1,477
8	Wyoming	- 914	Arizona	- 1,449
9	New York	- 909	New Jersey	- 1,200
10	Colorado	- 612	Texas	- 1,031

Though California still ranked first in 1940, the total number of Chinese in the state had decreased and the proportion in the total population had decreased even more.

With regard to the numbers of Chinese in the United States during the years 1860-1950, it is obvious that increases

¹²Kung, op. cit., Appendix, Table XI.

and decreases depended on the situation in the country in the period; for example, the decade 1870-1880 was a golden period in American industrial development, especially on the West coast, and so the influx of Chinese was rapidly increased from 63,199 in 1870 to 105,465 in 1880. After 1890, and a long series of Chinese exclusion laws, the number of the Chinese in the United States dropped from 107,488 in 1890 to 61,639 in 1920. After that, the liberalization of immigration laws to admit wives and children as non-quota persons certainly had considerable influence in the next two decades. In the decade of the repeal of the Exclusion Act, the number of the Chinese in the population was considerably increased from 77,504 in 1940 to 117,629 in 1950. The following table shows the ups and downs of numbers of Chinese.¹³

<u>Census Year</u>	<u>Number of the Chinese Population</u>
1860	34,933
1870	63,199
1880	105,465
1890	107,488
1900	89,863
1910	71,531
1920	61,639
1930	74,954
1940	77,504
1950	117,629

¹³Ibid., p. 33.

III. Age and Sex of the Chinese Population in the United States

Practically all of the Chinese who came to the United States during the early period of immigration were natives of Kwangtung Province in southeastern China, of which Canton is the chief city. The Chinese in this area possessed a more venturesome and independent spirit because they had maintained commercial relations with other parts of the world since the sixteenth century. Generally speaking, the early Chinese immigrants may be classified into three groups: merchants, who enjoyed a high reputation among American businessmen; laborers, the majority of whom were industrious, frugal, sober, and quick to learn new ways, but little educated; and a very few Chinese women, since Chinese custom forbade women to leave their homes, and since Chinese immigrants did not want to build homes in a foreign land.¹⁴

According to the Statistical Review of Immigration, 1820-1910, during the years 1899-1910, the majority of Chinese immigrants were in the 14 to 44 age group. This was also true of other immigrants.¹⁵ From 1910 to 1940, the majority of the Chinese population in the United States was still in this age group.¹⁶

The scarcity of Chinese women among early Chinese was

¹⁴Sandmeyer, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

¹⁵U. S., Congress, Senate, Statistical Review of Immigration 1820-1910, 61st Cong., 3rd Sess., 1911, op. cit., pp. 89-91.

¹⁶Kung, op. cit., p. 36.

noticeable. In the early decades of free immigration, Chinese women composed only one per cent of the total Chinese population in the United States. Their number slowly increased over a long period and in 1940, women made up about 25.9 per cent of the total Chinese population in the United States. According to the United States Census, 1930-1960, the figures for the Chinese population of the United States by sex were as follows:¹⁷

<u>Census Year</u>	<u>Per cent of Total</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
1860	94.9	5.1
1870	92.8	7.2
1880	95.5	4.5
1890	96.4	3.6
1900	95.0	5.0
1910	93.5	6.5
1920	87.4	12.6
1930	79.8	20.2
1940	74.1	25.9

Women made up a much lower percentage of the total Chinese than was true in most immigrant groups. For example, comparing the number of Chinese women with the Irish and the Japanese women during the years 1899-1910, the number of women among the Chinese was low as shown by the Statistical Review of Immigration 1820-1910:¹⁸

¹⁷Ibid., p. 33.

¹⁸U. S., Congress, Senate, Statistical Review of Immigration 1820-1910, 61st Cong., 3rd Sess., 1911, op. cit., p. 47.

<u>Race or People</u>	<u>Total Number of Immigrants</u>	<u>Number</u>		<u>Percent</u>	
		<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Chinese	22,590	21,696	894	96.0	4.0
Irish	439,724	210,686	229,038	47.9	52.1
Japanese	148,729	124,670	24,059	83.8	16.2

IV. Chinese Occupations in the United States

Since the majority of the early Chinese were laborers, they made a bad impression upon Americans. As E. G. Mears, who wrote, Resident Orientals on the American Pacific Coast, said:

It is unfortunate that the Chinese who first came to the United States were of the laboring class. It is more unfortunate that the first influx was in large numbers. This class of people have made a very unfavorable impression upon the American public toward the Chinese people; they caused great friction for many years between this country and China; and they created misunderstandings between the two peoples. Although they have been excluded, the ill effects of their presence still remain. Even today, the general American republic would not readily recognize a Chinese gentleman . . .

The earlier class of Chinese immigrants has been responsible for the ill treatment of the Chinese in this country. The merchants, students, and others who have treaty rights to enter the United States still have to bear hardships which they would not have to bear if that earlier class of their countrymen had not come.¹⁹

Sociologically speaking, the early Chinese immigrant was a person whose soul was towards the home country; his feeling belonged to the Chinese village and district where he was born. He migrated in search of a higher socio-economic status while his objective was to return to his place of

¹⁹Mears, op. cit., p. 12.

origin.²⁰ Like many ambitious and thrifty immigrants from Europe, the Chinese came to make and save money. One-third, at least, were married men who had left their wives in China. They had great patience, capacity for continuous labor, and aptitude for mechanics. They succeeded often where the American failed. Their economic superiority showed itself as soon as they had served an apprenticeship and saved some money. Then, they often went into business for themselves. They would look for a small partnership. Sometimes, the partner hired a manager, and each individual partner, in addition to working in the business also worked as a day laborer to add to the firm's capital.²¹

Thus, during the early days of conflict, there were many complaints that Chinese labor competed with white labor. This competition was evident when the Chinese succeeded, especially where service was a factor in success. The Chinese succeeded where they contributed a new note to the American scene, a new luxury to the already abundant life of America. After the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, there were changes in Chinese occupations. Apparently, the Chinese gradually withdrew from those occupations in which Americans competed and concentrated themselves to those occupations where no bitter voice was raised against them. They failed in the areas

²⁰Rose Hum Lee, The Chinese in the United States of America (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960), p. 20.

²¹M. R. Coolidge, Chinese Immigration (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1909), pp. 389-93.

in which the whites were supreme, in occupations which involved the application of machinery. The comparison between the 1870 period and the 1920 period can be clarified by the following figures:²²

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION WITHIN OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS
IN CALIFORNIA 1870

Class of Occupation	All Races	Chinese	Irish	German	English & Welsh	Natives	All Others
All occupations	100	14.1	12.9	8.0	4.7	46.1	14.2
Agriculture	100	5.6	7.9	5.7	3.7	64.0	13.1
Professional & personal service	100	20.8	19.4	6.5	3.1	38.7	11.5
Trade and transportation	100	5.6	11.5	14.9	4.6	48.1	15.3
Manufacturing, mechanical and mining industries	100	16.3	10.3	8.0	6.8	41.8	16.8

²²Wu, op. cit., pp. 35, 86.

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATION BY RACE AND
GENERAL DIVISIONS IN 1920

Occupations	Native White (N.P.)*	Native White (F or M.P.)**	Foreign White	Negro	Chinese
Agriculture	31.1	16.5	12.0	42.2	11.0
Extraction of Minerals	2.4	1.8	4.9	1.5	0.3
Manufacturing	26.2	34.6	46.9	18.4	9.3
Transporta- tion	7.6	7.6	7.1	6.5	1.7
Trade	10.7	12.4	11.1	2.9	16.3
Public Ser- vice	2.0	2.2	1.6	1.0	0.4
Professional Service	6.5	5.9	3.0	1.7	1.6
Domestic Service	5.0	6.1	9.9	22.1	57.9
Clerical Service	8.5	12.9	3.4	0.5	1.7

* Native Parentage

** Foreign or Mixed Parentage

Before World War II, on the whole, the economic opportunities offered Chinese immigrants and Chinese-Americans, citizens or not, were very limited. Under the circumstances, the Chinese had to be content with humble occupations or confine their ambitions to Chinatown. A certain number of professional men returned to China in order to utilize whatever knowledge or technique they had acquired in the United States. Discrimination against oriental races was at least partly responsible for their not building up large businesses and

industries in the United States.²³

Both the censuses of 1930 and 1940 revealed the paucity of Chinese professional men, particularly physicians, chemists, and college professors. The majority of Chinese were laundry operatives, laundry owners, restaurant workers and persons in domestic service. But, World War II changed the situation. The war labor shortage created a demand in every occupation. Thus, war industries such as shipyards and aircraft factories which had seldom employed Chinese began to show an interest in engaging Chinese engineers, technicians, workers, and even clerks. As the available Japanese decreased in number during the war and when the Axis was defeated, the Chinese devoted their skills and hard work to American needs. This caused governmental authorities and educational institutions to begin to employ some Chinese. However, the Chinese had small chance of being accepted for jobs on their merits as individuals because of long planted anti-Chinese feeling. The Chinese working as lawyers, in banks, insurance companies or brokerage houses were few. It was difficult for a Chinese student of the humanities or social sciences to join a college faculty and most Chinese scientists and engineers were in research rather than in management.²⁴

V. The Chinese Community in the United States

Psychologically speaking, foreigners in any strange

²³Mears, op. cit., p. 23.

²⁴Kung, op. cit., pp. 181-196.

land are in need of friends and neighbors of the same nationality, who can give them a feeling of security. Thus, the various nationalities which first settled in the United States tended to live among themselves and establish their own communities. S. W. Kung in his Chinese in American Life explains:

That immigrants of all nationalities should tend to live together in their respective communities, holding tenaciously to even the vestiges of their old-world customs, to their native languages, and to their revered traditions, is quite expectable and natural. Strangers in a strange land where they seem handicapped, at least in the beginning, these freshly arrived people nostalgically seek refuge and comfort among their already somewhat-established compatriots, where often they develop organizations to meet fundamental communal needs.²⁵

Even the earliest settlers in America founded their colonies with a national, social, or religious bias. For example, the Dutch settled in New Amsterdam, the Swedes in Delaware, and the Quakers under William Penn in Pennsylvania. Later, during the period 1820-1850, the Germans found themselves in Pennsylvania, the Irish in Boston and New York, and the Scandinavians in the Middle West. Also, Italians in the later period settled themselves in New York and had their "Little Italy" as their settlement in their own racial zone.²⁶

The Chinese as well as other nationalities were strangers on the American land in their early life. Thus, inevitably, they also built their own communities in America, communities known as "Chinatowns." There are many Chinatowns in the United States, but the most famous were Chinatowns in

²⁵Ibid., p. 197.

²⁶Ibid., pp. 197-98.

California and in New York. The oldest and largest Chinatown is in San Francisco. Here, one may study their life as an example of some of the conflicts between the Chinese and Americans.

Like all the other immigrants who came to San Francisco in the early period, the Chinese established a "quarter" in the city, not only for self-protection but also for companionship. As early as 1853, they managed to live within the crowded two blocks between Kearney and Stockton Streets, and between Sacramento and Jackson Streets. In those days the streets were wide and well-paved, and had sidewalks similar to those in other parts of the city. In those days, the Chinese merchants brought over the ocean materials to build their own houses, and even arranged to supply houses to Americans since materials could be brought over from China more cheaply than from the eastern seaboard.²⁷ Most of the two and three-story buildings used by the Chinese were of brick, with a cellar or a basement. Because of the uncertainty of their future in this country, the Chinese tended to invest their money in personal property rather than in land. Thus, they did not care about their living conditions, and they tried to spend as little money as possible for their quarters. Hence, there was an absence of decent living conditions. There were instead the horrors of overcrowding, and the dangerously unsanitary conditions of quarters which landlords were never required to repair. These conditions brought about the bubonic plague in

²⁷Wu, op. cit., p. 12.

1904.²⁸ Like all other pioneer towns, San Francisco was built primarily for business and for single men. Outside of the business districts, it consisted largely of hotels, and cheap lodging houses. The Chinese immigrant was not accustomed to the extravagant expenditures of the West and since in almost every case he had come to save money, he spent less for lodging and for food than did the American of modest income. As the number of the Chinese increased late in the sixties, enterprising white landlords cut up buildings into smaller and smaller compartments, or they leased their buildings to Chinese sub-landlords who in turn cut the space into smaller and smaller rooms. These tiny rooms of ten or twelve feet contained nothing except bunks and each accommodated from two to ten men. In each of these buildings there was an assembly room where the men lounged and smoked or gambled and a kitchen with bathing arrangements for common use.²⁹ This "Little China" in 1906 occupied fifteen blocks, all below Mason and south of Sacramento Street. But in this year, Chinatown in San Francisco which had preserved its Chinese mode of life more than fifty years, came to an end when the earthquake destroyed the old Chinatown. New Chinatown was built. The architecture changed completely. The appearance of the new Chinatown is much more modern, since great sums of money have been spent by the Chinese in building Presbyterian churches, juvenile centers, bank buildings, and movie palaces. However, it

²⁸Kung, op. cit., p. 202.

²⁹Coolidge, op. cit., pp. 411-13.

still remains a mecca for tourists who want to see the Orient in the Occident.³⁰

The Chinatown in New York was about twenty years younger than that in San Francisco. It has Doyers Street as its main stem. Some said that the Cantonese established a Chinatown there in 1866-1867. By 1887 the community had 800 to 1,000 Chinese. It was early composed chiefly of men. They wore pigtaails and their native garb, until, becoming westernized, they had their queues cut off. The tong wars (which will be discussed later) reached New York after they had begun in San Francisco. In 1933, the conflicting tongs were investigated and they signed a treaty of peace to end tong wars. The New York Chinatown was not only a mecca for tourists but also a homey community.³¹

In 1909, a middle-aged man, Louie Quan, became the leader in starting a Chinese colony in Los Angeles. He raised \$100,000 as capital for a stock company but his project was opposed by a law suit. However, there were many ambitious plans for a modernistic town. The final compromise of those plans was two Chinatowns. In 1938, one Chinatown was situated at the corner of Main and Macy Streets, the other was established on Broadway at College Street. In addition, there is a third Chinese community along North Spring Street, between Ord and Macy Streets. There was no doubt that these

³⁰Wu, op. cit., pp. 143-47.

Idwal Jones, "Cathay on the Coast," American Mercury, VIII (August, 1929), 458.

³¹Kung, op. cit., pp. 203, 204.

Los Angeles Chinese communities were expanding.³² At the present time, S. W. Kung lists Chinatowns in the United States as follows:³³

Arizona	Tucson
California	Fresno, Los Angeles, Oakland, Sacramento, San Francisco
District of Columbia	
Hawaii	Honolulu
Illinois	Chicago
Maryland	Baltimore
Massachusetts	Boston
Michigan	Detroit
New York	New York City
Ohio	Cleveland
Pennsylvania	Philadelphia, Pittsburgh
Oregon	Portland
Texas	San Antonio
Washington	Seattle

VI. Chinese Societies and Institutions

The reasons early immigrants formed mutual societies was that they needed protection and mutual assistance, peace and order, contributions for relief, and places for relaxation, warmth, and fellowship for their members. Chinatowns were organized to perpetuate a set of social institutions and voluntary associations which would fulfil the basic needs of their inhabitants.³⁴ Moreover, Seward who wrote Chinese

³²Ibid., pp. 204-06.

³³Ibid., p. 319.

³⁴Lee, op. cit., p. 142.

Immigration in Its Social and Economical Aspects, said such voluntary societies were a carry-over of old Chinese institutions, and that it was the custom of the Chinese in China when any considerable number emigrated from one city to another, to come together and form a kind of mutual aid society, or guild. The offices were elective for a specified length of time: voluntary subscriptions were raised, and voluntary taxes were imposed for the purpose of providing a hall or quarters for the meetings of the guild. Generally, a temple or shrine of worship dedicated to the particular divinities of the class, was erected in connection with this hall. This hall became the rendezvous of the members and retainers of the associations. Membership was entirely voluntary and might be severed at the will of the individual.³⁵ So, in forming these mutual societies in the United States, the associations like those in China, were founded to serve all purposes. We need now to consider these Chinese agencies in the United States.

Chinese Six Companies.--The Chinese immigrants who came mostly from the same district, and bore the same surnames lived in the same area. (For over twenty centuries Chinese society revolved around clans-groups of individuals stemming from a common ancestor and bearing the same surname which precedes the personal name.³⁶ For example, in Chiang Kai-shek;

³⁵Seward, op. cit., p. 153.

³⁶Lee, op. cit., p. 142.

Chiang is the surname.) Of all the Chinese organizations, none is as well known as the Six Companies of San Francisco which created so much misunderstanding and aroused so many disputes about their real function that they became a subject for debate and a target for attack, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century. Reverend Gibson on April 1, 1876, gave the following figures concerning the Chinese members of the Six Companies:³⁷

Ning Yung Co.	75,000
Hop Wo Co.	34,000
Kong Chow Co.	15,000
Yeung Wo Co.	12,000
Sam Yup Co.	11,000
Yan Wo Co.	<u>4,300</u>
Total	151,300

It was said that the oldest district association was called "Sam Yup Co.," organized in 1851. Companies branched off until several district associations were formed in the United States. These societies later became the present Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, organized on January 25, 1901. Dr. Coolidge, who described the Six Companies' operation in San Francisco, said that the Six Companies, similar to village councils in China, were formed in America for the protection and general benefit of their members. They had a company house where a register of names and addresses was kept; in the same building were lodgings and a kitchen for the use

³⁷Kung, op. cit., p. 77.

of transients. There was a fee of ten dollars for members, payable every six months but no fee was required of transients or invalids. The Six Companies' proper character was something between a club and a benefit society; their functions were those of benevolent and fraternal organizations like the Odd Fellows or the North East Society in California and not in any way connected with any mercantile business.³⁸ Dr. Rose Hum Lee wrote in her book, The Chinese in the United States of America:

The Six Companies in San Francisco believe themselves to be the spokesmen for all the Chinese throughout the country. They have the support of the Chinese identified with old country behaviour, ideals and expectations. They have spent too much effort forcing the Chinese, regardless of nativity, to be China-oriented. At one time, the Six Companies undertook to support the sojourners' claims in court. It acquired quasi-judicial functions and powers to protect the interests of those who dared not exercise their legal right through legal channels because of the language barrier. Thus, their attempts to be the spokesmen for all the Chinese transformed this form of an association into a pressure group.³⁹

Trade Guilds.--The Chinese trade guilds are a second class of organizations. They combine many of the features of the American trade union and the benefit society. There was a time when the Chinese were engaged in many industries, and trade guilds of the laundrymen, the cigar-makers, shoemakers, and tailors were once established. Each guild was arranged to run its business with its own rules to govern the members

³⁸Coolidge, op. cit., pp. 403-05.

³⁹Lee, op. cit., pp. 148-49.

and the apprentices. Each guild had also an interpreter and its settled dues for members. Fines for non-attendance and collections for celebration were customary. The objects of the guilds were to keep wages up, to settle disputes among members and to protect them against the Americans by law-suits. The guild headquarters served as an employment office where employers went for workers.⁴⁰ Many guilds then were established for these general purposes:

The welfare of the Chinese Community demands that the useful labor of every able-bodied man should, as a minimum, be compensated by sufficient income to support in comfort himself, a wife, and at least three minor children, and in addition to provide for sickness, old age, and disability, and should, as a maximum, be allowed to work eight hours a day and six days a week. Under no other condition can a strong, contented, and efficient personality be developed.⁴¹

Churches, Missions, Temples and Cemeteries.--Anti-

Chinese accusation of having "no souls to save" was not shared by many good Christians of America. In 1924, there were sixteen Christian organizations having separate rooms in buildings in San Francisco's Chinatown. These included the Chinese Baptist Church, Chinese Independent Baptist Church, Chinese Congregational Church, Chinese Congregational West Mission, Chinese Y. M. C. A., Chinese Y. W. C. A., Chinese Christian Mission, Chinese Independent Christian Mission, Chinese Cumberland Presbyterian Church, Chinese Presbyterian Home, Chinese Methodist Church, Chinese Episcopal Church, Chinese

⁴⁰Coolidge, op. cit., pp. 406-07.

⁴¹Quoted by Wu, op. cit., p. 170.

Catholic Mission, Chinese Presbyterian Church, and Chinese Salvation Army.⁴²

Immigrants became Christians for different reasons. Many of the Chinese were no doubt sincere. But, the real work of the Churches and missions in the Chinese community was not in the field of religion but in the field of education because it was of vital importance to the Chinese that they be able to speak English.⁴³

The Roman Catholic churches did not play an important role in converting the Chinese since the Catholics favored the Irish who opposed Chinese immigrants because of Chinese competition in the field of labor in the nineteenth century. Thus, not until the beginning of the twentieth century did the Roman Catholics undertake the task of proselytizing. The number of Chinese Catholics in the United States then increased rapidly perhaps because the structure and the ritual of the Church was readily accepted by the Chinese, particularly the foreign born.

Educational Institutions.--The traditional respect for learned men in China has no doubt left its impact upon the Chinese in the United States. Early immigrants had very little schooling, but they usually gave their children the best education available to them.

For many years Chinese education in the United States was segregated. For example, the city of San Francisco

⁴²Ibid., pp. 170-71.

⁴³Ibid., pp. 171-73.

maintained a separate school for the instruction of Chinese children, with white teachers and the same course of study as in other schools of the city.⁴⁴ The first Sunday school in San Francisco was organized in 1853. In 1915 the Protestant denominations maintained twenty-eight schools of various grades, enrolling 1,400 persons. The total cost of this work was about \$42,000 annually. The Bible was not the only book offered for study. The lessons were in reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, and such other branches as were common to ordinary week-day schools. Until 1920 when the segregation was over, the proportion of the Chinese attending schools could be compared favorably with the white records, as shown in the table on page 31.⁴⁵

The first generation immigrants usually spoke only Chinese. But the younger generation, by attending public schools, learned English very naturally, and their percentage attendance at schools exceeded that of the whites in the 14 to 17 age group. Most noticeable is that the number of Chinese females attending schools exceeded the number of the Chinese males.

⁴⁴Hon. Albert G. Burnett, "Misunderstanding of Eastern and Western States Regarding Oriental Immigration," The Annals, op. cit., 261.

⁴⁵Wu, op. cit., p. 279.

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF THE CHINESE AND WHITES IN THE UNITED STATES, 1920

Age Groups	Chinese			White		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
1) Total number of persons attending school	6,081	4,045	2,036	19,644,508	9,870,374	9,774,134
2) 7-13 Yrs. of age						
Total number	2,944	1,712	1,232	13,515,118	6,827,330	6,687,788
Number at school	2,609	1,502	1,107	12,499,436	6,309,623	6,189,813
Percent	88.6	87.7	89.9	92.5	92.4	92.6
3) 14-15 Yrs. of age						
Total number	842	587	255	3,432,889	1,726,962	1,705,927
Number at school	703	479	224	2,797,409	1,405,367	1,392,042
Percent	83.5	81.6	87.8	81.5	81.4	81.6
4) 16-17 Yrs. of age						
Total number	959	726	233	3,384,559	1,689,778	1,694,781
Number at school	555	398	157	1,468,476	693,491	774,985
Percent	57.9	54.8	67.4	43.4	41.0	45.7

Other Societies or Organizations.--There were a great number of private societies organized for good and bad purposes in the early period of Chinese immigration. The best known was the "Tong." In theory, a tong is a mutual-aid organization. In practice, tongs became secret societies where overseas Chinese utilized the organization to attain objectives which were unlawful according to American laws. Primarily its members were alien-born.⁴⁶ For both the Chinese and the American, tongs were synonymous with racketeering, white slave traffic, sale and use of narcotics, gambling, murders by highbinders or hatchetmen, blackmailing, intimidation, threats, and destruction of property. There were six major tongs: The Hip Sing, Bing Kung, Sui Ying, Ying Om, On Leong, and Chee Kung Tong. It was believed that the first tong was formed by the Chinese Masons, a secret society.⁴⁷ According to Dr. Coolidge, the tongs originated in political organizations of the period of the Taiping Rebellion, organizations which were brought to California about 1863. Here, they were formed to protect women from slavery, but later changed into societies for bringing in prostitutes. These societies maintained a regular band of paid fighters whose rivalries, shooting frays, and street battles were the terror of the respectable residents of the Chinese quarters in American cities. The evolution of the tongs is a weird and fascinating chapter in the history of minority groups in America. Tong wars

⁴⁶Lee, op. cit., pp. 161, 440.

⁴⁷Ibid., pp. 161-68.

spread first because the Chinese were threatened and maltreated by the whites and because they could not appear as witnesses in courts during the period of free immigration.⁴⁸ Thus, the Chinese preferred to apply to the tongs for the settlement of disputes both secretly and openly. However, the tongs leaders' wisdom often proved inadequate to settle disputes peacefully. It was then necessary to call in the services of the tong's highbinders or hatchetmen, who frequently resolved the disputes with "four inches of axe-blade." "Tong Wars" took place because of the open and violent conflicts between rival tongs over the control of extralegal, illegal, or personal objectives.⁴⁹ This brought about the special Chinatown police squad in 1875. Tong wars lasted in San Francisco for a long time and spread to other areas, especially to New York. The last murder was said to have been committed in 1926.⁵⁰

Around 1900, many Chinese in the United States belonged to political parties. The Kuomintang, the ruling party in Free China, was organized by Dr. Sun Yat-sen and maintained branches in the United States which flourished from 1898 to 1911. There were also the Chinese Democratic Constitutional party and an outstanding organization--the Chinese-American Citizens Alliance (C. A. C. A.) founded in San Francisco in

⁴⁸Coolidge, op. cit., p. 409.

⁴⁹Robert Patterson, "Tongs of San Francisco," American Mercury, LXXIV (February, 1952), pp. 73-79.

⁵⁰Kung, op. cit., pp. 202-03.

1895, the aim of which was to promote fraternal fellowship and to foster mutual interest among Americans of Chinese ancestry. The latter's members were necessarily limited to the native born and to those who had been naturalized. It was an outstanding spokesman for the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act.⁵¹ There were also several organizations aimed at the promotion of understanding and good will between Chinese and Americans, for example, the Chinese Society of America founded in 1913, and the China Institute founded in 1926. And by the 1930's, American educational institutions have given courses in Chinese civilization and some have a major area of study in the Far East.⁵²

The Chinese press, established at the end of the nineteenth century with nationalistic aims, was led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. In 1910 Dr. Sun helped to establish the "Young China" group at San Francisco. However, the majorities of the readers of the Chinese newspapers were the old Chinese immigrants. It was natural that the younger generation of Americans of Chinese ancestry would gradually lose the ability to speak and read the Chinese language.⁵³

Of course, Chinatown in the nineteenth or even in a few decades of the twentieth century was a segregated area, which had some special functions to perform for the Chinese immigrants who were far away from home. The Chinese immigrants came from a civilization which is quite different from that of

⁵¹Ibid., pp. 216-17.

⁵²Ibid., pp. 222-24.

⁵³Ibid., pp. 224-27.

America. They spoke a different language, followed different traditions, ate different food, and even slept on different beds. Chinatown had many years preserved the Chinese mode of life, for as Dr. Wu said:

It is only in Chinatown that a Chinese immigrant has society, friends, and relatives who share his dreams and hopes, his hardships and adventures. Here he can tell a joke and make everybody laugh with him; here he may hear folk tales told and retold which create the illusion that Chinatown is really China.⁵⁴

As with other immigrants, the assimilation of the Chinese took place at the period of the second or third generation. The native-born parents, though of Chinese origin, had lost a great deal of their Chinese heritage. They were American in all but physical appearance. In a Chinese ghetto, there were children who spoke a mixture of English and Chinese. As soon as the compulsory education laws were enforced at the turn of the twentieth century, parents could no longer effectively isolate their children from the wider society and groups in America. Moreover, the native-born Chinese became the bridge between two cultures. They came to understand the hindrances to assimilation and the nature of other conflicts. Then, they were able to help the process of assimilation and to help develop better relationships.⁵⁵

Before discussing the American attitude toward the Chinese in the United States, it would seem best to present some general ideas about the Chinese image (or character) in

⁵⁴Wu, op. cit., p. 158.

⁵⁵Lee, op. cit., pp. 119-20.

the United States before the Chinese Exclusion Law of 1882 and the series of other exclusion laws. As is generally known, most Chinese were influenced by Confucius whose teachings stressed the Chinese emphasis on the family, on law and order, on long established habits and thought patterns which were obstacles to assimilation. Thus, many Chinese in the United States tried to keep their own characteristics, for instance, their food, dress, and customs. Cultural differences were then evident, as was physical appearance. These racial differences brought about racial prejudice similar to the American anti-Negro feeling before and after the Civil War. Furthermore, the Chinese unwillingness to adopt American customs and ideals made the Chinese seem undesirable in American society. The Americans were convinced that the racial differences were much deeper because the Chinese civilization was inflexible and so the Chinese did not assimilate easily. A later chapter will consider American attitudes towards these immigrants whose physical characteristics and cultural backgrounds were so different from those of Americans from Western Europe.

CHAPTER II

AMERICAN IDEAS OF RACE AND RACIAL SUPERIORITY AS OPPOSED TO IDEAS OF EQUALITY--RELIGIOUS, PHILOSOPHICAL AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL

There was a long period of good relationships between the Chinese and Americans in the United States before free immigration began. The Chinese looked upon Americans as their best and most trustworthy friends among people of the western countries. In retrospect, the Americans seemed to have proved themselves helpful to the Chinese. On the American side, books such as S. W. Williams' Middle Kingdom, Barrows' Travel in China and Lay's The Chinese As They Are, and art objects in American museums aroused American curiosity about the strange land of China. So, in the middle of the nineteenth century when there were a few hundred Chinese in California, Americans regarded them with tolerance, curiosity, and, in some instances, even with admiration. Thus, the early Chinese found a welcome in the United States. Dr. Wu Ching-chao, quoting an article in the Annals of San Francisco written by F. Soule, J. H. Gibon, and J. Nisbet said:

The Chinese in San Francisco make an extraordinary feature of the city and appeal very strongly to most organs of the stranger--to his eye, ear, and nose. They are seen in every street quietly passing along. The white immigrant, who may never before have met with specimens of the race, involuntarily stops and

gazes curiously upon this peculiar people, whose features are so remarkable, and whose raiment is so strange, yet unpretending, plain and useful. They are generally peaceable and contented among themselves, and seldom trouble the authorities except in case of mere ignorance of the municipal ordinances.¹

Such general attitudes did not last long. Tolerance, which had been readily extended to the quiet and harmless Chinese disappeared when the number of Chinese increased in the 1850's to a point which seemed to threaten the existence of the whites. The novelty of Chinese things and people was lost when the Americans could see a Chinese at every turn of the street corner. The Chinese were charged with being a matter for social concern. The man who seemed so harmless as long as he was regarded as an interesting person, suddenly assumed a menacing shape when looked upon as a competitor and a rival. Of course there were some people who continued to admire the Chinese and tried to protect them from discrimination. Yet, in general, anti-Chinese feeling was strong during the period of exclusion laws 1870-1902. In this period, anti-Chinese Americans argued that the Chinese were an inferior race, that they were politically incapable, and that they would drain American economy or that they were an economic threat to the well-being of Americans in general. However, as time went on, Americans and Chinese came to understand each other. And during the twentieth century, by the 1940's, it was generally accepted that Chinese are the equal of Americans

¹Ching-chao Wu, Chinatowns, a Study of Symbiosis and Assimilation (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1928), p. 13.

mentally and otherwise. This shift in attitude eventually led to the repeal of Chinese exclusion laws.

Americans, like all peoples, attempted to justify their attitudes. They used arguments based on scientific findings and on conclusions concerning the political, social, and economic well-being of Americans. At any given time, there existed a majority attitude and a minority attitude, which might, in either case, be aggressive or somewhat indifferent. In considering American attitudes toward the Chinese, the periods 1870-1902 and 1902-1943 can be used. The predominant attitude from about 1870-1902 was unfriendly, whereas, from 1902 to 1943 the attitude was increasingly tolerant. Favorable and unfavorable attitudes of Americans toward the Chinese in each period will be considered under the following categories:

A. Ideas of race and racial superiority as opposed to ideas of equality--philosophical, anthropological, and religious.

B. Ideas of social undesirability as opposed to ideas of assimilation and religious conversion.

C. Ideas of political incompatibility and incapacity as opposed to ideas of tolerance of different institutions within American society and the Chinese capacity for adaptation.

D. Ideas of economic drain and danger as opposed to ideas of economic benefit and non-competition.

Arguments both for and against the Chinese reflected

the economic and political attitudes of each period, as well as the scientific thinking of the times. Pro and anti-Chinese persons tried to find evidences and responsible opinions to support their attitudes. It cannot be over-emphasized that the scene at each given moment played an important role in determining majority opinions and that it influenced government's action excluding Chinese immigration and repealing Chinese exclusion laws.

I. Anti-Chinese Arguments Based on the Ideas of Race and Racial Superiority

Some people believe that racial differences tend to cause racial prejudice. It is argued that external differences such as "color" have caused racial conflicts. The history of color prejudice in California can be traced back to the earliest history of the state. Californians had inherited a distinct color prejudice from the early American pioneers who migrated from the northeast and the south and were well-known for their prejudice against Negroes. These people then possessed a color prejudice when they found that the territory was peopled with dark-skinned Indians and Spaniards whom they had to fight against and drive out. Mary Coolidge in 1927 said:

. . . I have not time to look up the figures, but my memory is that California voted Democratic from 1852 to 1875. At least one-third, perhaps more, of the early California settlers were Southerners--many brought their negro servants with them--and formed an aristocracy in San Francisco, whose attitude was inevitably anti-color.²

²Quoted by Eliot Mears, Resident Orientals on the American Pacific Coast (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1928), p. 20.

Others agreed with her that color caused trouble. Dr. Wu quoted C. P. Morton's statement:

If the Chinese in California were white people, being in all other respects what they are, I do not believe that the complaints and warfare made against them would have existed to any considerable extent.³

The entire history of American anti-alien agitation indicates that racial differences caused racial conflict. However, the problem was accentuated by intellectuals who were curious to study the nature of races from the points of view of physical differences. Their studies led to the development of the idea of white superiority which became current in Europe and later in America throughout the nineteenth century.

There were two general types of racist thinking. One came from political and literary sources and assumed, under the impact of the romantic movement, a national form. The other was developed from the inquiry of naturalists. Stimulated by the discovery of the new worlds overseas, men with scientific minds began in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to study human types systematically in order to catalogue and explain them.⁴

Behind the fusion and confusion of natural history with national history, of "scientific" with social ideas, lay a massive trend in the intellectual history of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, namely, Social Darwinism.

³ quoted by Wu, op. cit., p. 61.

⁴ John Higham, Strangers in the Land (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1955), pp. 131-32.

When applied to the rights of races, this theory argued that if survival of the fittest was the law of nature, then it was only right and natural that "superior" races and nations should take over the lands and property of the less talented peoples. Darwin's idea of "the survival of the fittest" based upon the theory of natural selection confirmed Americans' belief in their supremacy over the immigrants. But the conviction that Americans, belonging to the "fittest" race, would always triumph over inferior competitors was threatened in the late nineteenth century by the great influx of immigration from southern and eastern Europe, as well as the Chinese immigration from Asia. These nationalities seemed successful in establishing their colonies in America. The crisis resulting from social problems which sprang from these different communities made Americans fear the success of their "inferiors." The idea that a law of evolution decreed that the fittest race would be the conqueror in any circumstance was modified. Race mixture threatened evolution:

It must be borne in mind that the specializations which characterize the higher races are of relatively recent development, are highly unstable and when mixed with generalized or primitive characters, tend to disappear. Whether we like to admit it or not, the result of the mixture of two races, in the long run gives us a race reverting to the more ancient, generalized and lower type. The cross between a white man and an Indian is an Indian; the cross between a white man and a negro is a negro; the cross between a white man and a Hindu is a Hindu; and the cross between any of the three European races and a Jew is a Jew.⁵

⁵Madison Grant, The Passing of the Great Race (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1922), p. 15.

Inevitably, opposition to Oriental immigration based on the idea that reversion would occur in race mixture seemed reasonable enough for those who thought that if the inferior Chinese were allowed to settle extensively in America, they would either form a "subject" race of slaves or of a class approaching slaves, which, if mixed with American, would form a bad hybrid.⁶

One source for such ideas was Sir Francis Galton's study of the heredity of genius in 1869. Galton seemed to prove that many cultural as well as physical traits were in-born and scarcely affected by the environment. Other students of eugenics developed this theme and showed statistically that no degenerate or feeble stock could ever be converted into healthy and sound stock by the accumulated effects of education, good laws, and sanitary surroundings. This idea was accompanied by the problems of contact and conflict presented by the Negroes, Indians, Chinese, and other non-white immigrants in America.⁷ However, Darwin's idea of natural selection made it possible to think of creation as a process. The species were not immutable. They had developed and the visible differences among the races could be interpreted as evidence of the differences in the capacity to survive. Thus, through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the prevailing

⁶Walter MacArthur, "Opposition to Oriental Immigration," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, XXXIV (July - December, 1909), 242.

⁷Oscar Handlin, Race and Nationality in American Life (Boston: Little Brown, 1957), p. 70.

view of human history and the accepted doctrines of Christian faith that all men are created equal set the limit within which science established such classifications. Darwin had prepared the ground for the belief that mankind was permanently divided into distinct races, biologically separate from one another. At the same time, in 1853, Count Arthur de Gobineau had proposed laws of nature which revealed that races differed from one another in their physical beauty, in their cultural power and in their spiritual capacity, as well as in language and body structure. His work declared that the earth was divided among the black, yellow, and white races.⁸ Scientists then were trying to prove racial superiority by the comparative method at the very time when America was burdened by the influx of free immigration. For example, Blumenbach, at the close of the eighteenth century, made a study of head shapes. Samuel G. Morton, in 1830, began the studies with human skulls which became his life's work. And in 1842, Anders Retzius devised statistical measurements which could be used to describe average types making it no longer necessary to rely upon such categories as color.⁹

Morton's studies were especially influential. To show the differences in races, he started from the postulate that the greater the size of the skull, the higher the type to which the individual belonged, and then he set out to investigate whether the development of the skull was equal in all

⁸Ibid., pp. 65-67.

⁹Ibid., pp. 60-63.

human races. To solve this question, Morton took a certain number of heads belonging to whites, Mongols, Negroes, and Indians of North America. He stopped all the openings with cotton and completely filled the inside with carefully dried seeds of pepper. He then compared the number of seeds in each. This gave him the following table:¹⁰

	Numbers of skulls measured	Average num- ber of grains* (Cubic inches)	Maximum num- ber of grains* (Cubic inches)	Minimum num- ber of grains* (Cubic inches)
White races	52	87	109	75
Yellow races:				
Mongols	10	83	93	69
Malays	18	81	89	64
Redskins	147	82	100	60
Negroes	29	78	94	65

*Gobineau erred in copying Morton.

From Morton's measurement, de Gobineau was certain of the intellectual triumph of the white races over the other races. He believed in the inequality of human races--black, yellow, and white. Among these three races the Negroid or the black, according to de Gobineau, was the lowest and stood at the foot of the ladder. He thought the yellow man had little physical energy and was inclined to apathy. His desires were feeble, his will-power was rather more obstinate than

¹⁰Quoted in Arthur de Gobineau, The Inequality of Human Races (New York: Charles Morley, 1959), p. 111.

violent. He sought constant material pleasure. He tended to mediocrity in everything. He could understand easily but not deeply or sublimely. He had a love of utility and a respect for order, and knew the value of a certain amount of freedom. He invented little but could appreciate and take over what was useful to him. His whole desire was to live in the easiest and most comfortable way possible and the word "honor" was hardly known to the yellow man. Unquestionably, said de Gobineau, white races were superior.¹¹

The whites were originally believed to possess a monopoly of beauty, intelligence, strength and honor. De Gobineau thought that in the world of sense, the white man was far less gifted than the others and so less tempted and less absorbed by consideration of the body, although, in physical structure he was by far the most vigorous. Gobineau affirmed that the mixture between the white races and the other races would be dangerous, making the race impure:

By its union with other varieties, hybrids were created, which were beautiful without strength, strong without intelligence, or, if intelligent, both weak and ugly. Further, when the quantity of white blood was increased to an indefinite amount by successive infusions, and not by a single admixture, it no longer carried with its natural advantages, and often merely increased the confusion already existing in the racial elements.¹²

Furthermore, de Gobineau stated that the ten outstanding civilizations of history were the products of the impulse of the white races who were Aryan. He concluded that even

¹¹Ibid., pp. 206-08.

¹²Ibid., p. 209.

the great Chinese civilization arose because an Aryan colony from India brought the light of civilization to China. This colony became absorbed in Malay and yellow races, and was re-enforced from the Northwest, by a fair number of white elements, equally Aryan but no longer Hindu.¹³

By the end of the nineteenth century, the writings of Nathaniel S. Shaler, Henry Cabot Lodge, and Francis A. Walker had strengthened the fear of the immigrant and the menace of the foreign-born. Walker declared that natural selection was now working in reverse. Americans became afraid of the presence of Orientals who were seen on every street corner on the Pacific coast, especially in San Francisco, where Chinese were present in a considerable number. Following testimony in 1876, a resolution was passed by the Joint Special Committee of Congress investigating Chinese problems in California which said:

These two forces, Mongolian and American, are already in active opposition . . . They (the Chinese) make their way in California as they have in the islands of the sea, not by superior force or virtue, or even industry, although they are, as a rule, industrious, but by revolting characteristics, and by dispensing with what have become necessities in modern civilization. To compete with them and expel them the American must come down to their level, or below them;
 . . . 14

Since the Mongolian and the Caucasian races were the most numerous of the world, the Joint Special Committee tended

¹³Ibid., pp. 210-11.

¹⁴U. S. Congress, Senate, Chinese Immigration, 44th Congress, 2nd Session, 1876-77, No. 689, p. V.

to concentrate on these two races, and took much testimony which compared the two in terms of racial superiority. Included in the testimony were the views of Theodore Parker, the well known minister and humanitarian:

The Caucasian differs from all other races; he is humane; he is civilized, and progresses. He conquers with the head as well as his hand. It is intellect after all that conquers, not the strength of a man's arm. The Caucasian has been often master of the other races, never their slave. He has carried his religion to other races, but never takes theirs. In history all religions are of Caucasian origin. All the great limited forms of monarchies are Caucasian; republics are Caucasian. All the great sciences are of Caucasian origin; all inventions are Caucasian; literature and romance came of the same stock. All the great poets are of Caucasian origin. Moses, Luther, Jesus Christ, Zoroaster, Buddha, Pythagoras, were Caucasian. No race can bring up to memory such celebrated names as the Caucasian race. The Chinese philosopher, Confucius, is an exception to the rule. To the Caucasian race belong the Arabian, Persian, Hebrew, and Egyptian; and all the European nations are the descendants of the Caucasian race.¹⁵

That a man like Theodore Parker could have such misconception is dramatic testimony to the hold which ideas of racial superiority had on American minds.

In the testimony, it was emphasized that the Chinese immigration should be discouraged because learned ethnologists, like Josiah Nott, George R. Glidden, and Dr. Morton all argued that any race of people whose average skull did not exceed 85 cubic inches were incapable of a free form of government. The Joint Special Committee presented a table of the brain capacity of different races which indicated that

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 1048-49.

the average of Chinese and African brain capacity is about 82 to 83 cubic inches while the Caucasian race reaches 90 to 92 cubic inches. Thus, this difference, as shown by the following table, suggested that the Chinese immigration should be curtailed.¹⁶

TABLE OF THE BRAIN CAPACITY OF THE DIFFERENT RACES*

Name	Skulls	Largest, inches.	Smallest, inches.	Average, inches.
Caucasian groups:				
Modern Germans	18	114	70	90
English	5	105	91 & 96)	92
Anglo-American	7	97	82 & 90)	
Pelagic:				
Persians	10	94	75	84
Circassians				
Americans				
Celtic, Native Irish . .	6	97	78	87
Hindustanic, Bengalese	32	91	67	80
Semitic, Arabs	3	98	84	89
Chinese, fairly	6	91	70	82
Malays, fairly	20	97	68	85
Arecert, Peruvian . . .	155	101	58	75
Indians of America:				
Iroquois	161	104	70	84
Cherokees				
Shoshones				
Negro groups:				
Native African	62	99	65	83
American-born African	12	89	73	82
Hottentot	3	83	68	75
Australian	8	83	63	75

*U. S., Congress, Senate, Chinese Immigration, 44th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1876-77, No. 689, p. 1052.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 1052.

In short, these scientists had added their ideas of racial superiority to the naturalist's idea of racial differences. They emphasized the fact that since "color" could not be eliminated from racial differences, the Government should make certain distinctions and place certain safeguards around the Anglo-Saxon race which had never amalgamated with the inferior Chinese. Views such as the following were parts of the testimony:

While they (Chinese) are of a less brain capacity, it will perhaps be the best to discourage their immigration. As we see the effect on the races in the United States and South American States, the offsprings of the amalgamation with inferior races generally inherit all the vices of the superior races, and but little of their virtues.¹⁷

or,

Like wine and water, we will never mix, and in the great struggle for existence, the Chinaman will come to the top every time if left to free and equal competition. The first law of nature is self-preservation, and to do this Chinese immigration must be discouraged.¹⁸

Partly out of these racial issues, there developed the attitudes which resulted in the Chinese Exclusion Law of 1882. Even after the initial exclusion, there was still a movement appealing for complete Chinese exclusion because of racial prejudice and because of a fear that the Chinese birth rate was higher than that of the white. In 1886, there was a horrible incident--the massacre of Chinese by white laborers at Rock Springs, Wyoming. As a follow-up of the massacre,

¹⁷Ibid., p. 1053.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 1054.

there appeared many expressions of racial sentiment. Though the outrage was condemned by every law-abiding citizen of Wyoming who had not allowed prejudice to take possession of his judgment, as a result of it the anti-Chinese state convention of California sent a memorial to Congress calling for relief for the Pacific coast from the Chinese evil. The memorial presented the problem in terms of a firm belief in purity of blood and against mixing of race. Since the purest blooded man of any race would be the strongest man of that race,¹⁹ and since the Chinese were known for their homogeneity and unity, according to the idea of the purest blood it followed these Chinese would be the strongest. Some Americans who still held the idea that they were superior to the inferior Chinese in time became uncertain about the idea of the superiority of the race with the purest blood and of the most homogeneous nation:

We do not undertake to say which race will rule the other; that will vary with circumstances depending upon their relative numbers and strength. In the South, just now, it is the white race that dominates; in San Domingo, it is the black. We do not put these race antagonisms and the fruit of them upon supposed superiority of one race over the other. These are terms the thoughtful man will be very cautious about employing.

One race may be the superior for one place, and not for another. We only say they cannot live well or happily together, and ought not to be made to do it.²⁰

Thus, it was argued that the mixed race was undesirable

¹⁹U. S. Congress, Senate, Memorial to Congress Adopted by the Anti-Chinese State Convention, 49th Cong., 1st Sess., 1885-86, No. 112, p. 1.

²⁰Ibid., No. 107, p. 8.

because of different social institutions. The massacre at Rock Springs illustrated the white's attitude against these homogeneous Chinese.²¹ When an armed body of white men attacked Chinese coal miners, Governor Francis E. Warren of Wyoming wrote a dispatch to the President asking for immediate assistance to preserve the life and property of hundreds of Chinese. The scene he portrayed was not pretty:

Not a living Chinaman--man, woman, or child--was left in the town where 700 to 900 had lived the day before, and not a single house, shanty, or structure of any kind, that had ever been inhabited by a Chinaman, was left unburned. The smell of burning human flesh was sickening and almost unendurable, and was plainly discernible for more than a mile along the railroad both east and west . . . A great number were attacked at the mouth of the several mines as they came out--half naked, as coal miners sometimes work--and they were obliged to run for their lives into the sand hills surrounding the town, some being killed and many wounded by gunshot wounds as they ran. The Chinese quarters and their persons had been robbed during and subsequent to the trouble.²²

Meantime, with so many anti-Chinese activities being undertaken to protect the status of free labor, the resulting demand for the absolute prohibition of Chinese immigration was based on the need to maintain domestic peace and to promote the general welfare. The arguments for excluding the Chinese were now based upon social welfare rather than racism. Thus, on May 12, 1886, the Senate of the United States submitted a resolution on the Chinese problem to "authorize the United States to absolutely prohibit, in the future, the com-

²¹U. S. Congress, House, Special Report Concerning Chinese Labor Trouble, 49th Cong., 1st Sess., 1885-86, p. 1227.

²²Ibid., p. 1227.

ing of Chinese to any port or place within the United States, excepting only duly accredited diplomatic, consular, and other Government officials and their necessary body servants and attendants, and excepting further only those driven into or seeking any port or place of shelter within the United States by or on account of storm or shipwreck."²³

However, the ideas of racial inequality were still studied later at the turn of the century. In 1901, Edward A. Ross, one of the most race-conscious of American social scientists, who popularized racist conceptions, presented an address before the American Academy of Political and Social Science to explain how unchecked Asiatic immigration might lead to the extinction of the American people. If a higher race quietly eliminates itself rather than endure the competition of a lower one, said Ross, it commits suicide. In one of his articles, "The Causes of Racial Superiority," he said that the first explanation of racial superiority is physiological. But, there are other bases of superiority also. He compared and contrasted races as to:

- a. Climatic Adaptibility.--Ability to adapt oneself to any place, no matter cold or hot.
- b. Energy.--Physical strength to endure hard work which does not require the brain and nobility.
- c. Self-Reliance.--Quality to know one's capacity and be proud of it. It gives a courage which faces perils

²³U. S. Congress, Senate, Memorial to Congress Adopted by the Anti-Chinese State Convention, 49th Cong., 1st Sess., 1885-86, No. 112, p. 1.

unknown or vague.

d. The Value Sense.--An economic quality resting on patience and financial acumen to overcome other competitors.

e. Stability of Character.--The chief moral trait of a winning race which is not over-emotional, is reliable in business engagements and has a settled reverence for moral values.

f. Pride of Blood.--A strong sense of superiority because of one's successful civilization.

g. Foresight.--An economic greatness for a race which lives for tomorrow instead of only living from hand to mouth.

All of these qualities or traits are associated with superiority as Ross said. And Americans, according to Ross' belief, possessed most of them so that in the centuries to come the American was destined to play a brilliant and leading role on the stage of history.

Ross believed that the Mongolians, including the Chinese, were superior to the Anglo-Saxon or the white races in climatic adaptability. The Chinese could succeed in Guiana where the white men could not live. They prospered from Siberia, where the mean temperature is below freezing, to Singapore on the equator. The white man was handicapped in competing with black, yellow, or brown men because of the natural selection which caused the Chinese and other colored groups adapt to any climate. Furthermore, the Chinese were superior in the ability to perform mercantile business--"Equal or even greater is the lead of the Chinaman. It is then, no wonder

that the Jews and the Chinese are the two most formidable mercantile races in the world today."²⁴ However, Ross thought that though the Anglo-Saxon was handicapped by lack of patience and financial acumen, still his virtues would insure him a rich part of the world's goods. His energy and self-reliance located him in cities and those parts of the earth where the economic rewards are the highest. Strong in war and in government, he jealously guards his own from the superior economic races and overcomes them with force. Thus, despite his less developed economic capacities, more and more the choice land and the richest parts of the earth come into his possession and support his brilliant civilization. Ross did not believe that climatic and economic capacities would make the Mongolians or the Chinese superior to the Anglo-Saxon. He concluded "Climatic adaptation or economic capacity is the last thing to be thought of as a cause of superiority."²⁵

Although Chinese immigrants were excluded in 1902, the new influx of immigrants from the south and southeast of Europe to the United States, included some Asiatics which seemed to threaten the well-being of Americans. Consequently, the new Immigration Law of 1924 also affected the Chinese immigration. Such exclusion laws were the legislative response to anti-foreign sentiment based, at least in part, on majority concepts of racial superiority.

²⁴Edward A. Ross, "The Causes of Race Superiority," American Academy of Political and Social Science, XVIII (1901), 79.

²⁵Ibid., p. 83.

In the twentieth century, new studies have changed ideas about racial differences in brain capacity. By 1943, the Chinese in the United States had proved themselves equal to the Americans in every case even in the war effort, and hence, many Americans supported the movement for the repeal of the Chinese exclusion laws. However, the minority in the hearings before the Joint Special Committee for the repeal of the Chinese exclusion laws still opposed the repeal because of continuing racial prejudice. Such an example of prejudice is the following from the statement of Agnes Waters, Washington, D. C., Legislative Representative for the Crusade Mothers of Pennsylvania, and the national Blue Star Mothers:

We are absolutely against this bill. I want to say right now that practically all of the Chinese are Communists and when they came in here, they came to ruin this country, and they are putting enemies in all our important positions in this administration . . . And these people are enemies coming in here as Trojan horses. And the Chinese race is a yellow race the white people have to fight, and if you are going to flood this country with the yellow race, I want to know it.²⁶

By way of summary, it may be said that attitudes against the Chinese based on argument of racial superiority were particularly strong in the nineteenth century, whereas in the twentieth, while racial prejudice was still present, it was not based on scientific conclusions as in the earlier period.

²⁶U. S., Congress, House, Hearings of the Repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Acts before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, House of Representatives on H. R. 1882 and H. R. 2303, 78th Cong., 1st Sess., 1943, p. 186.

II. Arguments in Favor of the Chinese Based on the Idea of Equality

The opposition to Chinese immigration into the United States rested upon the single ground of racial antagonism. Race differences between the American and the Chinese were said to be radical and irreconcilable because they included the most fundamental characteristics of each group. It was not merely a matter of tongue, of color, or of anatomy, but of morality and intellect. At the turn of the nineteenth century, the Anglo-Saxon idea of American nationality was so widely popularized that racial antagonism had opened a wider field for popular hatreds of the Chinese. However, not all Americans were anti-Chinese. Since the ideas of individuality and equality have been basic to American thought and background, there were a considerable number of Americans whose attitudes were favorable toward the Chinese and who began to stress various concepts of equality: philosophical, anthropological, and religious.

Philosophical Equality.--The Americans are very proud of their Declaration of Independence, and American democracy which affirm that all men are created equal. Concepts of a higher law and of individual freedom are basic to American ideology. Dr. Ralph Henry Gabriel in his The Course of American Democratic Thought (p. 15) quoted from Mr. Justice Joseph Story's Commentaries on the Constitution--"The rights of conscience are, indeed, beyond the just reach of human power. They are given by God, and cannot be encroached upon by human authority, without criminal disobedience of the precepts of

natural as well as revealed religion." This moral law stated that all men stood on a footing of equality and from which they derived equal rights. The free individual who has achieved moral maturity should be able to reject imperfect laws made by unthinking majorities. In particular, he should practice civil disobedience when the State embarks upon an immoral policy. Thus, there was a minority who opposed anti-Chinese agitation on the philosophical ground that all men are created equal.

As early as the 1870's, when Congress was discussing naturalization, Senator Charles Sumner whose "higher law" speech of an earlier date, recommended "strike out the word 'white' wherever it occurred, so that in naturalization there should be no distinction of race or color," said:

I have proposed to strike out from that system a requirement disgraceful to this country and to this age. I propose to bring our system in harmony with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. The word 'white' cannot be found in either of these great title deeds of this Republic. How can you place it in your statutes?²⁷

When Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, it was criticized by the minority who charged that it violated democratic idealism and the ideas of American political philosophers who emphasized human equality. And traditionally, American idealism was centered on the idea of being an asylum of all peoples as symbolized by the Statue of Liberty in 1886, a gift from France to the United States inscribed

²⁷Quoted by Mousheng H. Lin, "Chinese in the United States," edited by Robert Mac Iver, Group Relations and Group Antagonisms, (New York: Peter Smith, 1951), p. 63.

with Emma Lazarus' warming words:

Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore,
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed, to me;
I lift my lamp beside the golden door.²⁸

When the Chinese Exclusion Law of 1882 was passed, Protestant groups who have always been spokesmen for the Chinese tried to stop another series of Chinese exclusion laws. For example, in 1889, religious groups opposed a bill in the House of Representatives entitled "An act to amend an act to provide for taking the Eleventh and subsequent Censuses, approved March 1, 1889," because its purpose was to enumerate the Chinese population of the United States. These religious groups protested this bill in the name of Christianity, of fair dealing, and of common humanity between nations concepts which are basic to American philosophy:

That we deprecate such legislation as in conflict with the principles of our free Government, and in open violation of various treaties which have been made with the Chinese government; and we do emphatically protest against the bill in question as hasty in the measures for which it provides, cruel in the severity of the conditions which it imposes, extreme in the penalties which it attaches, and as altogether calculated to arouse the just indignation of the Christian nation.²⁹

Anthropological Equality.--Anthropologists also played an important role in changing American attitudes. Though their studies about different races did not mention brain

²⁸Quoted in John D. Hicks, George E. Mowry, and Robert E. Burke, The American Nation, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1963), p. 156.

²⁹U. S. Congress, Senate, Report Relative to the Immigration of Chinese, 51st Cong., 1st Sess., 1889-90, No. 123, p. 1.

capacity among races, their studies aroused other scientists' curiosity to study or to set up experiments about brain differences which later resulted in the idea of white superiority.

From the seventeenth century belief in a Great Chain of Being (a continuous hierarchy of being from the lowest to the highest among species inhabiting the earth), and the belief that since Nature was designed by its Creator in accordance with a plan, its mechanism functioning with regularity, it became necessary for each species to be distinguished and recognized. To describe the diversity of man was Linnaeus' achievement. In 1735, he published Systema Naturae, the system of nature. He divided the basic races of mankind into four, based on color: white, yellow, black and red, while J. F. Blumenbach later divided them into five great races by adding the brown race. Other writers, for example, Gobineau, have reduced the number of such basic races to three: white, yellow, and black. Subsequently, some have proposed 15, 29, or even 63. Prior to 1899, when the Bureau of Immigration first classified arriving immigrants according to the race or people to which they belonged, practically all population statistics respecting the foreign-born in the United States were recorded only by country of birth. After having investigated "races" or "people" for a period of time, the Senate issued a "Dictionary of Races and Peoples" in 1911. Here it was agreed that it was necessary to follow the classification employed by Blumenbach which stressed the importance of the head shape in

isolating and defining five human races: the Caucasian, Ethiopian, Mongolian, Malay, and American. Moreover, the report of the Immigration Commission in 1911 stated that the primary classification of mankind into five grand divisions could be made upon physical grounds, while the subdivision of these might be made into a multitude of smaller races or people largely upon a linguistic basis. According to the investigation of the Commission in 1907-11, conducted by the anthropologist, Franz Boas, there are two great races among the races of the world which are composed of huge numbers: the Caucasian, and the Mongolian. The Caucasian was by no means originally confined to Europe. It long covered the northern third of Africa and practically all of southern Asia to the border of Farther India. It is also called the "European" race. "Aryan" was regarded as a linguistic grouping of the Caucasian. In population, the Caucasian race led the world, with about 800,000,000 souls, perhaps about 200,000,000 more than the Mongolian in 1907.³⁰ As the Anglo-Saxons are Caucasians, the Americans whose ancestors were European classified themselves as Anglo-Saxon, Caucasian, or White.

In short, according to the theories of anthropologists, it was apparent that human divisions were based on color. Regardless of brain capacity, "color" in their opinion was the only criterion by which to judge racial differences. The Chinese are different from the Americans because they are merely

³⁰U. S., Congress, Senate, Statistical Review of Immigration 1820-1910, 61st Congress, 3rd Sess., 1911, pp. 1-4, 30-32.

"yellowish in color, with slant eyes, high cheek bones, black hair, and a flat face," while the Americans are Anglo-Saxon prevailing type of which is tall, long-headed, and frequently blond.³¹

However, there remained a strong belief in the white's superiority at the turn of the twentieth century. As time passed, Americans became uncertain about their ideas of racial superiority when Chinese proved themselves equal to Americans in every way, especially in mental capacity. During the period 1923-32, American sociologists were beginning to study race relations seriously and their findings contributed to the understanding of the Chinese. According to modern science, all races are biologically equal so far as their mental and emotional potentialities are concerned. In 1924, H. A. Miller stated that race superiority is a myth which came from prejudices supported by social and national ideas, and that the impulse which underlies most prejudice is probably egotism. He warned against the myth of superiority based on such group egotism:

Excessive patriotism is called chauvinism, and is creating as much disturbance as religious bigotry. The next step must be national tolerance, which will correspond to religious tolerance . . . The concept of races has not yet reached its crisis, but it is rapidly approaching that condition, though we have as yet no word like bigotry and chauvinism to indicate the vice of racial egotism . . . The bigotry of science is more difficult to withstand than the bigotry of religion. In these days no one wants to be called a fool in an age when science is increasing its authority.³²

³¹Ibid., pp. 30, 32, 40, 55.

³²Herbert A. Miller, Race, Nations, and Classes (Philadelphia, London: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1924), p. 135.

Studies about the intellectual differences between American students and Chinese students were undertaken. Sarah Lee, a graduate student of the University of California wrote a thesis in which she concluded that, regardless of language handicaps, the final scores show the two races to be practically equal. Kwok Tseun Yeung of Stanford University, used the Stanford Revision of the Binet scale for the test by which he concluded:

No striking differences in the intelligence of Chinese and American children are indicated by the results of this investigation. The Chinese children tested at about the level of Americans and North Europeans and markedly above South Europeans. The median I. Q. for the Chinese group was 97 in comparison with 99 as found by Terman for the 905 unselected American children studied.³³

A study was made by Katharine Murdock in 1925 about differences found between races in intellect and in morality. Using psychological tests, she sent questionnaires about traits to teachers and social workers, also giving objective tests to students in the city and country, acquiring information concerning various features. The result of her study was presented as follows:³⁴

³³Virginia Taylor Graham, "The Intelligence of Chinese Children in San Francisco," The Journal of Comparative Psychology, VI (1926), 44.

³⁴School and Society, "Educational Research and Statistics, a Study of Differences Found between Races in Intellect and in Morality," XXII (1925), 661.

MEASURES OF MORAL TRAITS^a

PERCENTAGE OF EACH RACE GROUP WHICH OVERLAPS THE ANGLO-SAXON MEDIAN. (Corrected sigmas are used.)

	"Honesty" Test	School Mark	Chasell-Upton Citizenship Scale	Ambition		Perseverance		Trust- worthiness		Self- assertion		Sensitiveness to Public opinion		Control of emotions		Weighted Average
				Teachers' Estimates	Questionnaire	Teachers' Estimates	Questionnaire	Teachers' Estimates	Questionnaire	Teachers' Estimates	Questionnaire	Teachers' Estimates	Questionnaire	Teachers' Estimates	Questionnaire	
	r=.165	r=.58	r=.89	r=.31	r=.99	r=.31	r=.98	r=.31	r=.96	r=.31	r=.92	r=.31	r=.96	r=.31	r=.97	
Anglo-Saxon	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50
Anglo-Saxon-Hawaiian	70	32	55	9	3	25	33	25	27	38	2	22	38	26	7	32.28
Chinese	87	90	79	70	34	63	93	63	78	29	.3	68	69	65	97	75.17
Japanese	99.9	50	66	62	94	50	92	50	25	27	20	71	87	99.6	78	69.17
Portuguese	43	23	47	16	1.5	28	17	28	2	48	11	31	15	33	4	23.97
Korean	47	68	58	46	17	48	56	48	56	26	.4	97	52	38	63	53.06
Chinese-Hawaiian .	80	24	65	18	23	42	37	42	66	45	1	56	38	26	73	48.17
Hawaiian	69	20	58	29	.1	47	.4	47	18	14	.1	24	52	35	1	34.00
Country Japanese .	90	39	37	38		50		50		17		37		40		

^aSource: School and Society, "Educational Research and Statistics, a Study of Differences Found between Races in Intellect and in Morality," 1925, 22:661.

As the table shows, the Oriental races, especially the Chinese, clearly stand high in almost all these measures. If negative self-assertion is a positive virtue, there are only two measures shown in the table in which the city Japanese and Chinese do not exceed the Anglo-Saxons, the Chinese being inferior in ambition and the Japanese in trustworthiness according to the average opinion of those who answered the questionnaire. The teachers' judgments are that the Chinese excel the Anglo-Saxons in ambition and that the Japanese are equal to them in trustworthiness.

Goodenough's measurement of the "Distribution of Intelligence Quotients by Racial Stock," had indicated Chinese intellectual superiority as compared with 2,457 public school children who practically were American-born but in whose immediate ancestry a number of racial stocks were represented (see table on page 66).³⁵

In 1928, Edward R. Lewis objected that racial superiority was a false concept because there is no pure-bred race. There is no evidence, he said, which exists to prove that any one race is potentially abler or more honest or more intelligent than any other race. He concluded that the essential point was not superiority or inferiority but profound differences in cultures among the black, the yellow, and the white. Nevertheless, Lewis concluded, people of different colors are all equal no matter how deep and profound the differences are.

³⁵Florence L. Goodenough, "Racial Differences in the Intelligence of School Children," Journal of Experimental Psychology, IX (1926), 394.

DISTRIBUTION OF INTELLIGENCE QUOTIENTS BY RACIAL STOCK^a

IQ	American	Armenian	Italian	Spanish-Mexican	California Negroes	Southern Negroes	Hoop Valley Indians	Jewish	Chinese	Japanese	Germans	Portuguese	English and Scotch	French and Swiss	Danish, Swedish and Norwegian	Assyrian, Slavonian & Serbian
160	1		1	1												
150	2		0	0	1											
140	11	1	1	0	0	1		1	1	1	1				1	
130	22	1	3	4	0	1		4	1	4	1	1			1	
120	44	2	15	12	3	8	2	5	4	1	5	0	1		3	
110	75	13	27	27	5	19	1	14	2	7	1	0	0	2	8	
100	103	20	58	45	4	52	8	11	7	8	6	0	4	2	5	5
90	116	32	100	73	10	84	20	12	4	10	7	4	3	3	5	7
80	69	29	115	93	17	104	22	5	4	8	4	3	2	3	6	3
70	44	16	98	65	17	125	15	3	2	2	3	0	2	2	1	4
60	11	9	34	35	10	155	10			1	1	1		0	1	3
50	2		4	9	2	51	1							1		3
40				3		11										1
30						2										
Total cases	500	123	456	367	69	613	79	55	25	42	29	11	14	14	31	29
Mdn.	100.3	91.8	87.5	87.2	82.7	76.5	85.6	106.3	103.1	99.5	98.8	93.3	99.5	92.8	104.5	94.5
Mean	101.5	92.3	89.1	88.5	85.8	78.7	85.6	106.1	104.1	101.9	101.1	94.5	100.2	94.5	103.5	92.8
S.D.	18.3	15.6	16.0	17.5	18.7	17.5	14.1	16.2	18.0	18.0	19.3	16.5	16.8	19.6	17.8	18.8
Coeff. of var.	18.0	16.9	18.0	19.8	21.8	22.2	16.5	15.3	17.2	17.7	19.1	17.5	16.8	20.7	17.2	20.3

^aSource: Florence L. Goodenough, "Racial Differences in the Intelligence of School Children," Journal of Experimental Psychology, 1926, 9:394.

Lewis also agreed with Miller that there is no pure race in this world: "In our ancestry, as in that of the American Indian, we can trace the elements of early negroid races, of the Australian savage, of the Alpines who helped to settle America, of Mongols and of half a dozen others."³⁶

By 1940, Dr. Ruth Benedict had defined the different meanings of "race" and "racism." Her point of view was that racism was a dogma which brought about the idea of superiority and inferiority which "race" would not justify:

Race is a scientific field of inquiry and its special problem is that of the genetic relationships of human groups. It ranks as an important field in any study of human civilizations and concerns itself with important facts about the history of the world . . . Race, then, is not a modern superstition. But Racism is the dogma that one ethnic group is condemned by nature to congenital superiority . . . Racism is not, like Race a subject the content of which can be scientifically investigated. It is like a religion, a belief which can be studied only historically. Like any belief which goes beyond scientific knowledge, it can be judged only by its fruits and by its varieties and its ulterior purposes.³⁷

The repeal of the Chinese exclusion law in 1943 was due to the desire to end the unjust racial discrimination against the Chinese. Arguments for repeal were based on the idea of equality. Religious groups also played an important role in the repeal, asking for the equality of a quota basis similar to that for Europeans. The Christian Century in 1942 stated the Methodist position:

³⁶ Edward R. Lewis, America, Nation or Confusion (New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1928), pp. 118, 122.

³⁷ Ruth Benedict, Race: Science and Politics (New York: Viking, 1940), pp. 151-53.

It would provide a welcome indication that the unscientific and un-Christian conception of race now so horribly regnant among the Nazis and often--exemplified by other proponents of white supremacy had at last been officially repudiated by the Congress of the United States.³⁸

In the hearings on repeal some witnesses asserted that the most important thing to keep the Chinese in the alliance was to remove the racial stigma in American immigration laws. Dr. Walter Judd, a member of Congress from the state of Minnesota, gave the reason for the repeal of the Exclusion Law as "If the Chinese or the Japanese had been excluded on an economic basis, they would not have objected; they resented being excluded on a racial basis, the pigment of their skin. They rightly resented being branded as biologically inferior."³⁹

Religious Equality.--It can be said that American Christianity and American democratic faith have developed together, shoulder to shoulder. Originally, both of them were rooted in Greek and Roman ideals which stressed the common law of individual equality. Thus, Senator Kennedy, in his memorial attacking anti-Chinese agitators, in seeking justice for the Chinese, referred to the days of Cicero. He demanded fair-dealing toward the Chinese people in accord with the principle of equality which Americans inherited from Greeks

³⁸Christian Century, "Methodists Ask Repeal of Immigration Racial Bar," LIX (November, 1942), 1413.

³⁹U. S., Congress, House, Hearings of the Repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Acts before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, House of Representatives on H. R. 1882 and H. R. 2303, 78th Cong., 1st Sess., 1943, p. 73.

and Romans. In other words, Americans inherited both religious and democratic faiths from the Greeks and the Romans.

In the age of the Roman Empire, there had been little discrimination against aliens due to the Roman policy of laissez-faire. Also, the Church of Rome emphasized a belief in the brotherhood of man without regard to race. This idea obviously was not consistent with race prejudice. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the prevailing view of human history and the accepted doctrines of Christian faith were that all men, equally, are the descendants of Adam. In the mid-nineteenth century, Calvinism was modified under the impact of science and gave emphasis to the free will of the individual. This developed the idea of religious equality in which American missionaries strongly believe. Christian associations tried to send their missionaries to other parts of the world in order to Christianize those peoples with their faith that all men were born equal and hence could be Christianized.

When the Chinese were accused of being incapable of being converted because of mental defects attributed to them by some, religious groups began to be the spokesmen for the Chinese. They indicated the successful conversion of Chinese both in China and in America. Reverend John Francis, who was in charge of the mission schools in California, indicated that the Chinese could be Christianized as easily as can the white:

I find the Chinese to be just like other people.
I cannot perceive any difference at all. When we
bring religious truths to bear upon them, they ap-

preciate and exemplify religious principles just like other people. I have been, to some extent, connected with almost all nationalities in both hemispheres. I hold the office of a minister, and I am not able to point out any difference between a Chinaman and people of other nationalities, Welsh, Irish, French, Scotch, . . . When I bring the truth to bear upon their intellects and hearts, the effect is alike.⁴⁰

However, the ideas of equality, philosophical, anthropological and religious, played a minor part in the 1880's when the Chinese Exclusion Law of 1882 was passed. At the time of the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Law in 1943, it goes without saying that American and Allied horror at Nazi racism played a major role in consolidating American repudiation of former attitudes about racial inequality. The war, a broadened sense of social responsibility, and scientific investigations, all contributed to modifying early anti-Chinese attitudes based on racial inequality. Most responsible Americans were moving toward a pro-Chinese viewpoint based on concepts of the equality of all peoples.

⁴⁰Quoted by George F. Seward, Chinese Immigration in Its Social and Economical Aspects (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1881), p. 215.

CHAPTER III

AMERICAN IDEAS OF SOCIAL UNDESIRABILITY AS OPPOSED TO IDEAS OF ASSIMILATIVE ABILITY AND RELIGIOUS CONVERSION

I. Arguments of Those Opposed to Chinese Immigration--Based on Ideas of the Chinese Social Undesirability

American ideas concerning the social undesirability of the Chinese during the 1870's rested on a belief in Chinese immorality and incapacity for assimilation. Anti-Chinese Americans emphasized that Chinese labor was a servile caste and that the Chinese-American Coolie trade created a slavery system, though the word "coolie" in China meant unskilled labor. Americans felt these laborers were collected from the lowest class of Chinamen, thus, threatening the American high standard of living by their low standard of living. They were contract laborers, for a term not exceeding five years. This seemed, therefore, to bring in indirectly a slavery system to the United States though the constitution of the United States and those of the constitutions of states, for example, that of California, prohibited slavery.

Anti-Chinese Americans argued that the effect of servile labor was to render labor dishonorable and prevent white children from wanting to compete with the Chinese. Thus, one

evil effect of the coolie penetration of the labor market was to exclude youths from employment, causing unemployment among the whites. These views were expressed before the Joint Special Committee in 1876-1877:

Ques. I was not speaking of trades, but of ordinary labor. Is it not the tendency of servile labor always to prevent white competition, that is to say, to render labor dishonorable?--Ans. Always.

Ques. Is not that the tendency of Chinese labor?--Ans. Always.

Ques. So that boys will not work with Chinese; they consider it degrades them?--Ans. That is the "irrepressible conflict."¹

As long as Chinese labor was considered a servile caste, these laborers were pronounced unfree men qualified for acceptance in American society.

While the Chinese in business life were said to be reliable and honest, they seemed to be dirty in habits. According to the Joint Special Committee's testimony of 1876, they were honest when well-watched but if not watched, they were not honest at all; moreover, they were less honest with "foreigners."

Ques. Is it general for them in China to use false weights?--Ans. It is a general thing for them to use double weights wherever they can, though less in teas than in other things, because in teas they are more checked by the foreigners than in anything else . . .

Ques. What sentiment of honesty is there among them?--Ans. The sentiment of dishonesty is natural to them, but they often consider that honesty is the best policy.

¹U. S., Congress, Senate, Chinese Immigration, 44th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1876-77, No. 689, p. 81.

Ques. There is a sense of honor among them?--

Ans. There is such a sense of honor, that I have known a Chinaman to commit suicide when he could not pay his debts on setting day; but the very same man will cheat the foreigners as much as he can.²

It was said that the Americans and Europeans generally had a deeper sense of honor than the Chinese had.

The testimony indicated that since the majority of Chinese immigrants were Cantonese, they were bound to be dishonest because the Cantonese had the worst character of any people in China.³

An American press indicated that the Chinese were not law-abiding, that the municipal and state laws were openly and successfully violated. Kidnapping of women for purposes of prostitution as well as cruelties toward the old and infirm were common. Vices were found everywhere and in every form.⁴ Gambling and prostitution were said to be controlled and protected by the tongs or the hatchet men. Gambling seemed to Americans to be the besetting sin of the Chinese. Alexander Mc Leod, in Pigtails and Gold Dust says that Chinese civilization seemed to have been centered around the gambling tables for centuries and there were no laws and enactments against it which proved effective. So, when the Chinese arrived in California, professional Chinese gamblers planted themselves there. A Chinatown became a nest of gambling dens

²Ibid., p. 1127.

³Ibid., p. 1128.

⁴Willard B. Farwell, "Why the Chinese Must be Excluded," The Forum, VI (1888), 201.

and lottery companies.⁵ These gambling dens were said to be composed of fifty to sixty gambling-houses kept open in the Chinese quarter in San Francisco; according to the testimony of 1876:

Ques. Have they many professional gamblers who make that a business solely, or is it an amusement for the people?--Ans. It is a natural passion with them, I think.

Ques. Are there professional gamblers among them?--Ans. I think there are more professional gamblers in proportion to the population of the Chinese than of any other class of people in the world except Indians; but Indians are not professional, they are general gamblers. Really, more Chinamen seem to live off the receipts of gambling-houses, and by being connected with and attached to them, seeming to have no other business, than any other class of people.⁶

Chinese prostitution was also wide-spread. There were two kinds, for Chinamen and for white men. The traffic in Chinese slave girls for such immoral purposes reached such proportions in 1868 that the local newspapers referred to it as "the importation of females in bulk." Many of these imported girls were little more than children between the ages of twelve and sixteen years. The well-known type of contract was that the girl was to become a prostitute for money advanced for her passage to the United States and for other expenses. Although the San Francisco municipal authorities made every effort to stop this dirty business, it continued for years. Early in 1873 the Woman's Occidental Board was organized in San Francisco to carry on warfare against this

⁵Alexander McLeod, Pigtails and Gold Dust (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1948), pp. 162-72.

⁶U. S. Congress, Senate, Chinese Immigration, 44th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1876-77, No. 689, p. 223.

slave trade and to help these helpless girls.⁷

The Joint Special Committee, taking testimony in 1876, concluded that there were 4,000 Chinese women in the United States who were all prostitutes or concubines, or second wives; that they had been shipped here against their wills and sold by their parents in China for immoral purposes; that prostitution in China was a profession, and not a disgrace; that girls were bought and sold, and transferred by bills of sale, like cattle, and as slaves were in the pre-rebellion period in the United States; that they were prostitutes of the most debased and abandoned kind; that they often became leprous or were destroyed by venereal disease.⁸

In addition, the Chinese were charged with bringing diseases such as smallpox and leprosy with them. Charles C. O'Donnell, a physician, testified that the Chinese immigration brought in not only thieves, pirates and criminals, but also the smallpox:

I know that for a fact, because I knew of the first case that occurred here. I knew of the first case that occurred of the epidemic previous to that, a man by the name of Hogan, a policeman. I attended him. He caught the small-pox on Jackson Street. That was the first case that occurred. Those coolies that come here are the very lowest type. It is not the general class of Chinamen who come here.⁹

With regard to leprosy, the testimony was:

⁷McLeod, op. cit., pp. 173-186.

⁸U. S., Congress, Senate, Chinese Immigration, 44th Cong., 2nd. Sess., 1876-77, No. 689, pp. 22, 23.

⁹Ibid., p. 1097.

Ques. Have we had leprosy here?--Ans. Yes sir; we have.

Ques. Chinese lepers?--Ans. Yes, sir; Chinese lepers.

Ques. Did not the medical fraternity go through that subject pretty thoroughly two years ago and decide there were no lepers here?--Ans. No, sir; they did not do anything of the kind, because I could have shown them 150 cases. I think there is some gentleman who belongs to the press, in this room--he was here to-day, I think--that I escorted him through Chinatown and showed him cases of it.¹⁰

Thus, Americans believed that smallpox and leprosy originated in the Chinese quarters. This belief was confirmed by the testimony of John L. Meares, a physician and health officer in San Francisco, who said:

They (the Chinese) live in large tenement houses, many of which are unfit entirely for habitation, and ought to be declared, if we had any authority here to declare them such, as unfit for habitation. They live crowded in small rooms without ventilation, and, as they often have diseases of a contagious character among them, they are exposed to it. The air being vitiated by the inhalation of the same air constantly, they breathe vitiated atmosphere all the time. My experience with them has been especially with regard to the present epidemic which is prevailing in the city. They conceal their cases of smallpox. We have had seventy-four deaths reported among the Chinamen.¹¹

Finally, it was said that there was a large amount of venereal disease among the Chinese, especially among the females. There had been some horrible syphilitic cases at the white hospitals, the disease was contracted by contact with the Chinese.¹² Since Americans considered the disease

¹⁰Ibid., p. 10.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 126-27.

¹²Ibid., p. 131.

hereditary and that it would be transmitted to children, they felt that Chinese houses of prostitution were a danger as well as a disgrace. "It (syphilis) will fill our hospitals with invalids, and I think it would be a very great relief to the younger portion of the community to get rid of them," testified Dr. Toland before the Joint Special Committee.¹³ It was more terrible that nearly all boys in San Francisco were said to have venereal disease because the Chinese prostitutes did not care how old the boys were, whether five years old or more, so long as they had money.¹⁴

Another evil credited to the Chinese was opium-smoking. However, testimony indicated that there was no evidence that opium produced more horrible effects than whisky and cigarettes. Nearly all witnesses testified that the smoke of opium was a disinfectant; that opium smoking was preferable to drinking whisky because it just stupefied the smokers, put them to sleep and quieted them while whisky stirred the people up, made them belligerent and caused fights.¹⁵ However, Chinatown visitors were shocked when they made their first trips to a Chinese opium den. These dens were the most disgusting picture of Chinese life because of the heavy smell of the deadly drug with a stupefying smoke and crowded opium smokers who clung to their pipes forgetting the world outside the

¹³Ibid., p. 14.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 14.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 61, 431, 432, 772, 133.

opium dens.¹⁶ Fear of this narcotic drug caused American doctors to investigate the subject thoroughly. Opium was felt to bring ruin and desolation to numbers of families. It was feared that in the future opium smoking would cause much trouble. The testimony before the Committee during 1876-1877, was to the effect that:

With the exception of some rare smokers, who, thanks to a quite exceptional organization, are able to restrain themselves within the bounds of moderation, all others advance rapidly toward death, after having passed through the successive stages of idleness, debauchery, poverty, the ruin of their physical strength, and the complete prostration of their intellectual and moral faculties. Nothing can stop a smoker who has made much progress in this habit; incapable of attending to any kind of business, insensible to every event, the most hideous poverty and the sight of a family plunged into despair and misery cannot rouse him to the smallest exertion, so complete is the disgusting apathy in which he is sunk.¹⁷

And it was suggested that the moment to cure the disease was to strike it in its infancy.

The Chinese were accused seriously of being inhumane. It was said that one of the most inhuman customs that prevailed among them in early California was that of removing the dying to an out-of-the-way place and abandoning them in their last moments. It was a frequent occurrence to find dead or dying Chinamen in some damp, dark, and deserted cellar or outbuilding. (Some writers said this custom came from Chinese fear of haunting by dead persons who would make houses

¹⁶Mc Leod, op. cit., P. 156.

¹⁷U. S., Congress, Senate, Chinese Immigration, 44th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1876-77, No. 689, p. 870.

uninhabitable if they were allowed to die in their quarters.) In the investigation of 1876, it was said that this pattern of customs had been transferred from China, that it characterized the Chinese as the whole who were charged with being inhumane. John T. Tobin who had been the detective for the police force in Shanghai under the municipal government testified that:

Ques. Is there humanity to the sick?--Ans. Not in the least. I have seen cripples and sick people turned out upon the streets to die there, and they have died. There is a certain number of sick people there that they take to the joss houses and leave them outside of the doors, and any passers-by can give them the money they like to give them, and others are left out on sidewalks not near any joss house at all, and left to die. I suppose I have taken up over 300 dead Chinamen during my stay there, and got coolies to bring the coffins from the municipal government to take these dead bodies in the morning.¹⁸

The Chinese religion was also taken into the arguments. Some witnesses said that the Chinese had no religion at all and thus they were undesirable in the American society. Though Confucius was praised for his golden rules, it was said that Confucius and the Chinese mind still had no desire for religious doctrine. According to an article in the Nation in 1866, Confucius had very faint conceptions of a future life and the whole spirit of his teaching was limited to this world. It was said that even if Confucius knew mankind well, unlike the teachers of almost all other religions, he claimed no supernatural power and he founded no religion and invented no philosophy. Thus, his defect was that his fundamental dogma which had reference to this life and to earthly relation

¹⁸Ibid., p. 239.

revealed selfishness about the principle of life. According to the article in the Nation, Confucius' basic teaching was that:

. . . he whose heart is right, . . . and who has for others the same regard which he has for himself, does not depart from the moral law nor the duties prescribed to others, and does not do to others what he would not have others do to him.¹⁹

In short, it was agreed that Confucius saw the facts of life but it was also argued that he did not investigate their cause profoundly. Under the influence of his teaching, the Chinese character came to take satisfaction in material interests only: "Thus half selfish, half indifferent, the Chinese are crafty, deceitful, overbearing with the weak, servile with the strong, indisposed to fight, but so eager for revenge that they will drown themselves in their enemy's well in order to bring down upon him the punishment of the law."²⁰ In general, then, it was felt by many Americans that the Chinese were immoral and socially undesirable. It was also felt that they could not be assimilated into the American melting pot.

One reason for excluding the Chinese had been their unwillingness to be assimilated. They were accused of making no progress toward assimilation with the American people. They still retained their peculiar costume and followed their original national habits in food and mode of life. They had no special intercourse with the white population. They had no families of their own because they had no desire to stay

¹⁹Nation, "Morality as the Religion of China," II (June 29, 1866), 820.

²⁰Ibid., 821.

in this country. The testimony before the Joint Special Committee in 1876 seemed to indicate that the Chinese were non-assimilable--"We speak of the Chinese as they have exhibited themselves on the Pacific coast for twenty-five years past, and as they are there at the present time. They showed few of the characteristics of a desirable population, and many to be deprecated by any patriot."²¹

The basic factor conditioning the adjustments of the Chinese to American life is the sharply contrasted social organization of East and West. The Western social order is built around the individual as the unit of the society. In America, the home, community, and state are evaluated by their adaptation for producing efficient and happy individuals. In China or in the Far East, the individual has to devote himself to the prosperity and safety of the social unit--the family, village, and nation. The Chinese also inherit the background of the family group as the social unit. So, when they tried to keep the Chinese way of life in their community in America, they were charged with colonizing the United States.

Before the period of the repeal of the Chinese exclusion laws, a Chinatown was regarded as a different world on American soil. The strange customs of the Chinese had always fascinated the Occidentals who visited it. Chinese customs seemed queer, barbaric, and heathenish to Western eyes. The Chinaman's whole life was tied up with superstitions. This

²¹U. S., Congress, Senate, Chinese Immigration, 44th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1876-77, No. 689, p. VIII.

made him a frequent patron of the joss houses. His belief in the Buddhist religion was suspect because at the same time he believed in gods of supernatural powers. Thus, thunder was the vice and lightning the messenger of the thunder gods; clouds were the dragon of the air; and rain was water ejected from the dragon's mouth; and so forth. One of the strongest beliefs of the old Chinatown of the seventies was that printed Chinese characters were holy and that to defile the holy things was to arouse the anger of the gods. Another Chinese custom in the early period of Chinese immigration which the missionaries had tried to get rid of was that of bandaging the feet of little Chinese girls. (This came from the belief that stunted feet indicated that a woman was of the high-born aristocracy, that such women need not move around and do housework. These women were proud of their "golden lilies," as the bound feet of Chinese women were called.) Moreover, the Chinese marriage was strange and interesting in the white's eyes because romantic love had no part in Chinese marriages. Marriage was governed by the Book of Rites, and all marriage arrangements were made without the knowledge of the future husband or wife.

Chinatown in the nineteenth century presented a different world from that of America, in general filled with unassimilated characters. The Chinese decorated their living quarters with strips of red paper hanging with a few Chinese characters on them, with pictures or with images of tigers and lions. Chinese funerals in Chinatown in San Francisco

were said to be conducted with peculiar ceremonies characteristic of the race. When a Chinese died in America, he was usually given temporary burial. After a few years his grave was opened and the bones were sent to China for final burial beside those of his ancestors. (The Chinese believed they were the Celestials, and the Chinese land was above all blessed. The other reason for sending remains back home was that the laws of China did not permit a native subject to alienate himself by naturalization in a foreign country. Once a subject of the Chinese emperor, always a subject.)

The Chinese in the early periods also still preserved their mode of Chinese festivals, for example, the Festival of the Lantern Kites and the New Year Festival. A description of the Festival of the Lantern Kites proves interesting:

At nighttime the kites would be illuminated with lanterns so ingeniously arranged as to outline the goldfish kites, even to the curves of their many tails. These kites were lighted in a given order, sanctified by custom and convenience, and the great kites would rise in a fashion as to prevent one light from interfering with the other. Large caterpillars and dragons, joined in many places, would wiggle into the night air with their fairy like stars.²²

The New Year Festival was equally characteristic. The Chinese decorated Chinatown as a Chinese way. The slips of Chinese letters with written sentences of good omen were glued to the doorposts of houses and stores. The Chinese celebration was magnificent as indicated by the following description:

Before midnight there was a feast in each Chinese home, where food was eaten with certain ceremonies, variously apportioned as sacrifices to heaven and

²²McLeod, op. cit., p. 276.

earth, to the family gods, and to deceased ancestors. Before the ancestral tablets in each home, incense and prayers were burned for the departed.

As the bells announced the mystic hour of twelve, the dawn of a new period was welcomed by musical strains peculiar to the inhabitants of the Middle Kingdom, by firecrackers, bombs, and rackets.²³

As to religious differences between Americans and Chinese, the majority of the Chinese in the United States in the early period were Buddhists. The Chinese built their own temples in Chinatowns. The Chinese temples in San Francisco were the most remarkable. The Chinese joss houses or the temples of the Chinese gods or idols were found in Chinatowns. These joss houses owed their existence to members of the Chinese quarter who were glad to contribute a dollar or two for the privilege of having their names inscribed on the registers posted around the temple walls. The first joss house or temple erected in California, located at the corner of Post and Mason Streets in San Francisco, was built in 1850.

It is not strange that Chinese adoration of idols of animals was misunderstood by white Christians, opposed to idolatry. Henry Sienkiewicz who visited America in 1876 described the Chinese temples as follows: "In the center is erected the first altar in the form of a low, wide table on which stands a pair of silver dragons two feet high. In the middle of the table rises a bronze pyramid covered with carvings in the shape of animals or humans."²⁴

²³Ibid., p. 279.

²⁴Henry Sienkiewicz, Portrait of America, edited and translated by Charles Morley (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), p. 248.

These Chinese joss houses which were found in considerable number and the very small number of converted Chinese strengthened the idea that the Chinese were incapable of conversion to Christianity.²⁵ Even in a letter written by Ambassador Wu, quoted in The Annals, it was stated that:

There is no objection to Christianity as a theory, but as something practical it is entirely out of the question. We tried such a system in China five or six hundred years ago, but we had to get a philosophy that the people could live up to. No people ever obey the precepts of the Christian religion; the whole system is a failure. Theoretically it is all right, but practically it is a failure.²⁶

While the anti-Chinese agitation was going on in California, it was the Presbyterian clergymen who were the spokesmen for the persecuted Chinese in America. The early interest of Protestant clergymen in the Chinese was related to their belief that God had brought the Chinese to the United States to be Christianized so that they might return to China to convert their neighbors. On the other hand, Catholic priests were the spokesmen of the Irish workmen. Thus, the competition between the Chinese workers and the Irish laborers led to the conflict between the Protestant churches and Catholic churches in the mid 1870's. The priests argued that the Chinese belonged to an inferior race, engaged in servile labor, and that their cheap labor drove unemployed white workers into beggary, prostitution, and crime. By 1879, it had

²⁵Farwell, op. cit., pp. 200-201.

²⁶Walter Mac Arthur, "Opposition to Oriental Immigration," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, XXXIV (July-December, 1909), 241.

become clear that the pro-Chinese clergymen were exercising little real influence with Chinese labor itself.²⁷ Even Reverend Henry Ward Beecher (the famous brother of Harriet Beecher Stowe) sarcastically uttered these words: "We have clubbed them, stoned them, burned their houses and murdered some of them; yet they refuse to be converted. I do not know any way, except to blow them up with nitro glycerine if we are ever to get them to Heaven."²⁸

The Chinese were also held to be incapable of political assimilation since they had had no experience with the American form of republican government. They were accustomed to be governed by absolute monarchy and to have social institutions speak for them. They had never enjoyed undivided rights. Political discrimination had begun in California when a judge in 1867 declared the Chinese ineligible to American citizenship. Moreover, Morton's study, pointing out the low average brain capacity of the Chinese, suggested that the Chinese would never adapt themselves to American political institutions.

Americans thought the Chinese would not assimilate economically. Differences in economic performances were decisive in bringing about the passage of the Chinese exclusion laws. Because of economic agitation, San Francisco was foremost in the anti-Chinese movement under the leadership of

²⁷Robert Seager, "Some Denominational Reactions to Chinese Immigration to California, 1856-92," Pacific Historical Review, XXVIII (February, 1959), pp. 49-61.

²⁸Mary Coolidge, Chinese Immigration (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1909), p. 445.

Denis Kearney who said, "We propose to rid the country of cheap Chinese labor." The workers reasoned that consumption on the part of the white workers was limited by their wage and employment opportunities. In contrast, Chinese consumption was determined by a low standard of living. And since the Chinese could subsist on a sub-starvation level, mostly on imports from China, their presence was considered a serious drain on the economy. The Chinese could never raise their standard of living but they reduced wage rates instead, and finally they had caused a depression.²⁹

With all these pressures on it, the Joint Special Committee which was authorized to investigate the Chinese problems in 1876, concluded that: The testimony seemed to be general that the Chinese would not assimilate with the whites; that they had made no progress, during the quarter of a century in which they had been resident on the Pacific coast, in assimilation with the American people; that they still retained their peculiar costume and followed their original national habits in food and mode of life; that they had no special intercourse with the white population; that they worked for wages which would not support white men and especially white families; that they had no families of their own in this country, or very few of them had and that because of the small amount and poor quality of food which they ate, and because their crowding together in close quarters reduced

²⁹Ping Chiu, Chinese Labor in California (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1963), pp. 131-37.

individual expenses for rent, and because they had no families to support or educate, they were able to compete with the white labor in all departments and exclude it from employment.³⁰

It was stated further that the Chinese did not come to make their homes in this country, did not desire to become citizens, and had no knowledge of or appreciation of American institutions. Proof was offered to the committee that Chinese women in California were brought and sold for prostitution, and were treated worse than dogs; that they were held in a most revolting condition of slavery.³¹ In general, it was assumed by a vast majority of Americans in the period from 1870 to 1902 that the Chinese were socially undesirable and incapable of assimilation with the earlier American stock.

II. Ideas of Assimilation and Religious Conversion in Favor of the Chinese

Though during the nineteenth century, the Chinese had been considered undesirable by most Americans and incapable of assimilation, a minority argued with many acceptable reasons that the Chinese could be assimilated if the Americans gave them enough time. Some defended the Chinese by citing the number of crimes in the United States and pointing out the small percentage attributable to the Chinese. Some compared Chinese vices with the white's vices and concluded that the Chinese vices were less serious. For example, they compared opium smoking with whisky drinking. They concluded that

³⁰U. S., Congress, Senate, Chinese Immigration, 44th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1876-77, No. 689, p. VI.

³¹Ibid., p. VII.

the former did less harm than the latter. Some argued psychologically that prostitution was necessary among Chinese men who brought here only few women. A physician, Arthur B. Stout, argued that from a hygienic point of view, and not as a question of morality that the Chinese did not have an adequate number of women engaged in prostitution. He also regarded prostitutes as a 'necessity to men.'³² Senator O. P. Morton, instead of blaming the Chinese for their vices, criticized the steamship companies for bringing in prostitution because they might have refused prostitutes' importation. With regard to gambling which was regarded as a Chinese peculiarity, he said:

They carry on extensively but not more so, nor so recklessly, as it was practiced by the white settlers of California when they had with them but few wives and families, and it is largely due to their homeless and outcast condition, and to the persecutions which drive them together for recreation, and protection.³³

With regard to the accusation that the Chinese possessed little intellectual capacity, the testimony of Judge Heydenfeldt (p. 511), Mr. Cornelius B. S. Gibbs (pp. 530-531), and Reverend Mr. Loomis (p. 462) before the Joint Special Committee in 1876 was that the intellectual capacity of the Chinese was fully equal to that of white people. Their ability to acquire the mechanical arts, and to imitate every process and form of workmanship ranked very high and had been declared by many of the witnesses to be above that of the

³²Ibid., pp. 655-56.

³³U. S. Congress, Senate, Views of the late G. P. Morton on the Character, Extent, and Effect of Chinese Immigration to the United States, 45th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1877-78, No. 20, pp. 13-14.

whites as was also their general intellectual power, their understanding of mathematics, and their mastery of any subject present to human understanding.³⁴ Arthur B. Stout, a member of the State Board of Health of California, believed that the Chinese race could become homogeneous with the American race. He stated that the assimilation between both races would be more advantageous than the assimilation between the American and the Negro or the Indian because "the Chinaman comes from a country which has an established civilization; he is already sharp and highly cultivated . . . We have nothing to do with their peculiarities, but they are a highly cultivated race in their way."³⁵ He further believed that with the advantages of education all nations can amalgamate, a belief accepted by learned men of the twentieth century. Sarah Lee and Florence L. Goodenough concluded that comparisons based on the Goddard revision of the Binet Simon scale showed that regardless of language handicaps the two races, the yellow and the white,

³⁴U. S. Congress, Senate, Chinese Immigration, 44th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1876-77, No. 689, p. 511: Testimony by Solomon Heydenfeldt:

Ques. How does the intellectual ability of the Chinaman, so far as your observation enables you to judge, compare with that of Americans in the same corresponding class?--
Ans. I think that their general intelligence is greater. My impression is, from my information and observation, that there are very few Chinamen of the ordinary laboring class who cannot read and write their own language. In my intercourse with them I find them always quick to understand and very quick to appreciate. They also exhibit a ready intelligence, much more so than you will generally find among the ordinary laboring class of whites.

³⁵Ibid., p. 657.

were practically equal in terms of mental age; that the average I. Q. of the Chinese was 104.1, and of the American 101.5; that the median I. Q. for Chinese males was 107.7, and for American males was 107.0.³⁶

Refuting the charge that the Chinese had no conception of the character of American institutions and the nature of American government, many witnesses before the Joint Special Committee argued that many Chinese desired to become American citizens. The Chinese view was stated: "We want to become citizens, and they will not let us; how can we become citizens when the laws will not allow us?"³⁷ Especially, it was shown that the Chinese Six Companies, one of the Chinese institutions in the United States had played an important and remarkable political role, refuting the charge of Chinese political incapability, when they sent an address to the citizens of the United States as quoted by Colonel F. A. Bee who represented the Chinese Six Companies before the committee. And as late as 1943, Chinese capacity in politics was referred to by Pearl S. Buck, a witness in the hearings on repeal of exclusion laws, when she said that the Chinese people have been democratic throughout their history, that the center of rule was in the people of the villages, that the Chinese are trained

³⁶Ching-chao Wu, Chinatowns, a Study of Symbiosis and Assimilation (Chicago, Illinois: Chicago University Press, 1928), pp. 275-76.

³⁷U. S. Congress, Senate, Chinese Immigration, 44th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1876-77, No. 689, pp. 435-36.

and ready because they have had for centuries the democratic idea. Even the emperor always listened to the people's opinion and took it very seriously.³⁸

Reverend Otis Gibson firmly argued that the Chinese did assimilate but they assimilated more slowly than any other people who came here. This slowness in assimilation can be accounted for as a Chinese statesman did when he said, "We Chinese have been settling like cement in deep moulds for thousands of years, and it is unreasonable to expect us to liquefy ourselves and run off new patterns in one or two decades."³⁹

When the Chinese were accused of performing servile labor, it was argued that it was because of the American pressure upon them. The majority of the Chinese engaged in the laundry and restaurant businesses because they were barred from most agricultural and industrial enterprises and those businesses required only little capital. The degree (speed) of assimilation was slow because they felt that they were a small minority and the whites' superiority in number and in power, so they appeared to be passive and obedient; they were too proud to apply for public relief, so they would rather live on the benevolence of relatives and friends than ask society for help. They were firmly convinced that China was the

³⁸U. S. Congress, House, Hearings of the Repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Acts before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, House of Representatives on H. R. 1882 and H. R. 2303, 78th Cong., 1st Sess., 1943, p. 73.

³⁹Henry Pratt Fairchild, Immigrant Backgrounds (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1927), p. 181.

most civilized country in the world, so they trusted their own administration rather than the American government and thus they isolated themselves from the American administrative officials.⁴⁰

As indicated earlier, refuting the ideas of the Chinese inability for religious assimilation, clergymen of different denominations who had tried to Christianize the Chinese and established Chinese Sabbath-schools, made statements favorable toward the Chinese, saying, "If it is God's purpose by this immigration to America to prepare the way for Christianizing China, and if we ought all to be co-workers with God by falling in with his plans of working, then it is best, probably, not to quarrel with God's arrangements."⁴¹ They showed that through the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, the missionary work among the Chinese in China and in the United States had been successful. These religious groups firmly argued that Christianity was working well and pleasantly among the Chinese. Methodists presented a memorial stating their belief in successfully Christianizing these Chinese, as follows:

We are impressed with a firm conviction that faithful Christian effort will bring the Chinese to an appreciation of our Christian civilization. And we are impressed with a belief that it is a favorable moment to exhibit that kindly spirit will teach these strangers that there is something in our civilization that is

⁴⁰Mousheng H. Lin, "The Chinese in the United States," edited by R. M. Mac Iver, Group Relations and Group Antagonism, (New York: Peter Smith, 1951), pp. 67-70.

⁴¹U. S., Congress, Senate, Chinese Immigration, 44th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1876-77, No. 689, pp. 453-54.

superior to the systems under which it has been their misfortune to be reared.⁴²

Moreover, Reverend John Francis who had been in charge of a mission school in California testified, with reference to the Chinese that:

My experience has convinced me that in regard to consistency, Christian deportment, and steadfastness they compare very favorably with the converts of other nationalities. I have been with them a good deal in their life. I have been with them at their death. One of our Chinese brethren died in my arms and it was a source of pleasure and gratification to know that he had continued during the years of his Christian life faithful, to his principles . . . That Christian brother had labored here very faithfully among his countrymen for years. I simply mention this instance as a proof of their steadfastness, and consistency in their Christian deportment.⁴³

In 1881, George F. Seward argued in favor of the Chinese by presenting charts of Chinese ethics. These charts exhibited the ethical philosophy of the Chinese translated by Dr. Martin of the Peking University. And in the Hearings in 1943, P. S. Buck insisted that the Chinese have always appreciated Christianity that even the leaders of the Republic of China, Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek are good Christians.⁴⁴

Finally, during the early decade of the 1940's, it became evident that the Chinese in the United States were able to be assimilated. Most Americans accepted this fact. The picture of assimilation was painted by a popular magazine:

⁴²Ibid., p. 444.

⁴³Ibid., p. 485.

⁴⁴U. S. Congress, House, Hearings of the Repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Acts before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization House of Representatives on H.R. 1882 and H.R. 2303, 78th Cong., 1st Sess., 1943, p. 77.

They rolled up the opium pads and put away the hatchets a long time ago in San Francisco's Chinatown. It is a respectable business and entertainment area now. Its dancing girls cavort to American jazz, its youngsters wear crewcuts, and the shops that line Grand Street sell anything from a quarter-million dollar Ming vase to a twenty-five cent bamboo toy in the Main Street manner.⁴⁵

The assimilation took place at the period of the second or third Chinese generation. The native-born parents, though of Chinese origin, lost most of their Chinese heritage. In the Chinese ghetto, there were children who spoke a mixture of English and Chinese. As soon as the compulsory education laws had been enforced at the turn of this century, parents could no longer effectively isolate their children from the wider society and other groups. Moreover, the native-born Chinese became the bridge between two cultures. They learned to understand the hindrances to assimilation and to understand the nature of the other conflicts. Then, they are able to help the process of assimilation and promote good relationships.⁴⁶

⁴⁵Newsweek, "Out of the Shadows," XXXXVI (August 15, 1955), 19.

⁴⁶Rose Hum Lee, The Chinese in the United States of America (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960), pp. 119-20.

CHAPTER IV

AMERICAN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEAS TOWARD THE CHINESE

I. American Ideas of Political Incompatibility and Incapacity as Opposed to Ideas of Tolerance of Different Institutions within American Society and Capacity for Adaptation

Anti-Chinese Arguments Based on the Ideas of Political Incompatibility and Incapacity of the Chinese.--Testimony before the Joint Special Committee in 1876 was to the effect that Chinese political incapacity resulted in political incompatibility between the Chinese and the Americans. Mental studies of Dr. Morton and other ethnologists, had seemed to show that the Chinese were of less brain capacity than the Anglo-Saxon, so that, "to preserve the harmony of society, it will perhaps be the best to discourage their immigration."¹ Moreover, since the form of the Chinese government had been monarchical, many witnesses believed that Chinese could not live harmoniously with Americans because they had no love for and no knowledge of American institutions.² Though the Chinese displayed intelligence in trade, intelligence in the books of Confucius and the classics of the Chinese Empire,

¹U. S., Congress, Senate, Chinese Immigration, 44th Congress, 2nd. Sess., 1876-77, No. 689, p. 1053.

²Ibid., pp. 1056-57.

there was not one in China who could answer intelligently what was the form or scope or object of American constitutional government. Thus, it was believed that there was " . . . no single instance where a Chinaman has resolved upon becoming a permanent citizen."³

In addition, since Chinese did not come here with their political skill, since they were not familiar with American institutions, and since they spoke a different language, the belief was general that they were unfit to exercise the elective franchise.⁴ With no conception whatever of responsibility attending the exercise of the right to vote under a republican government, their vote might be sold even for small amounts.

A part of the testimony in 1876 emphasized scientific agreement that the brain-power of the Chinese was less than the average standard required to self-government; the Chinese were politically incapable. James P. Dameron, a lawyer, a naturalist and an ethnologist, testified from his observations upon this problem:

Ques. From what I gather from your observation, you find that scientists all agree that the brain-power of the Chinese is less than up to the average standard that will enable them to be a self-governing, independent race?--Ans. Yes, sir.

Ques. That any government which they compose will fail because of the intrinsic inferiority of their mental capacity?--Ans. Yes, sir. No other besides the Indo-Germanic race seems to have what we call a coolness of judgment. They are not disposed to run off on impulses, and have what we call a well-balanced head.

³Ibid., pp. 16.

⁴Ibid., p. 442.

A man may be very smart in one thing and very deficient in another. A chinaman may be very smart in his civilization and in his way, but he has no capacity for adopting our civilization or our form of government.

Ques. Then, in that respect, he would, in your opinion, be a dangerous element in our political society?--

Ans. Very.

Ques. And in the future not desirable?--Ans. Not desirable; no more so than the negro of the South. They would either sell their votes or else they would make this an Asiatic country. From their nearness to their own country they can very easily get a majority here and overwhelm us at the ballot-box.⁵

The belief that the Asiatic lacked in "mental ability" prevented assimilation among these two races.⁶ However, though "To be great a nation need not be one blood, it must be of one mind. Racial inequality and inferiority are fundamental only to the extent that they prevent mental and moral assimilation."⁷ Thus, the Asiatic, lacking political capacities needed for the free government, was considered a menace by Americans.

The idea of Chinese political incompatibility was reenforced by history. Fear of Asiatic aggression was the result of the history of the successive Asiatic invasions of Europe under the leadership of Genghis Khan in the thirteenth century, followed by those of Timar and others in the next two centuries. From 1238 to 1462, the Mongols were considered supreme in Russia. Mongol invasions were responsible for much of the cruelty

⁵U. S., Congress, Senate, Chinese Immigration, 44th Cong., 2nd. Sess., 1876-77, No. 689, p. 290.

⁶Ibid., p. 1058.

⁷Walter Mac Arthur, "Opposition to Oriental Immigration," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, XXXIV (July-December, 1909), 243.

perpetrated upon the people of "White Russia."⁸ Thus, knowledge of history roused American fear of the Chinese immigration and also roused the feeling of race preservation:

History teaches that it is impossible to make a homogeneous people by the juxtaposition upon the same soil of races differing in color. Race tolerance, under such conditions, means race amalgamation, and this is undesirable. Race intolerance means, ultimately, race war and mutual destruction or the reduction of a race of a different color, in a condition of servitude, is foreign to the spirit of our institutions, which demands equal rights to all within our jurisdiction.⁹

So, through the nineteenth century, it was believed that the Chinese possessed both political incompatibility and incapacity which made them undesirable in American society. There was even a prediction that within a century (1876-1976), these unhomogeneous Chinese would be celebrating the anniversary of their independence from the United States.

Ideas of Tolerance of Different Institutions within American Society and Capacity for Adaptation.--A traditional ideal of the Americans is that America is the land of the oppressed. The notion of America as a melting pot of different races was based on the idea of tolerance of different institutions. Since assimilation had been the policy of the United States, American nationality was said to emerge automatically from a melting pot. By the mid-nineteenth century, the concept of a mixed, assimilating nationality was associated with a belief that a mixed race has physical and moral qualities

⁸Ibid., p. 240.

⁹Francis G. Newlands, "A Western View of the Race Question," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, XXXIV (July-December, 1939), 270.

superior to one inbred; and Americans believed that in the United States the best intermingling had occurred. They firmly believed in the success of the American melting pot.¹⁰

This idea persisted into the early twentieth century. There was still belief in American tolerance of different institutions. It was said that the author of the concept of the American melting-pot was Israel Zangwill (1864-1926). Though he was a Jew who became American, he had a strong belief in a newly formed Nation, composed of different institutions of different nationalities. In his book, The Melting-Pot, published in 1917, he created a character through whom he spoke his idea of America as the melting pot of all immigrants through:

Vera: . . . Look! How beautiful the sunset is after the storm!

David: . . . It is the fire of God round his Crucible

There she lies, The Great Melting Pot--listen!

Can't you hear the roaring and the bubbling?

There gapes her mouth . . .¹¹

These spokesmen of the Chinese opposed Chinese exclusions on the grounds this idea of America as the melting-pot can be traced back to the days after America had declared itself independent. In 1782, the Frenchman de Crevecoeur wrote Letters From An American Farmer, expressing his feeling toward the American nation. According to his idea, "the Americans were the western pilgrims, who carried along with them that great mass of arts, sciences, vigour, and industry which began

¹⁰ John Higham, Strangers in the Land (New Jersey: Rutgers UP, 1955), pp. 21-22.

¹¹ Israel Zangwill, The Melting Pot (New York: The Mc Millan Co., 1917), p. 184.

long since in the East." Mixture had created a new nation. Crèvecoeur took it for granted that Americans would be tolerant toward differing institutions and the different nationalities which would create a new and better nation:

The American is a new man, who acts upon new principles: he must therefore entertain new ideas, and form new opinions. From involuntary idleness, servile dependence, penury and useless labor, he has passed to toils of a very different nature, rewarded by ample subsistence. This is an American.¹²

Crèvecoeur was optimistic with regard to the colored people, Negroes. He accused nature of creating this inequality: "Strange order of things! Oh, nature, where art thou? Are not these blacks of American ideals."¹³ If Americans were proud of the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution, then it was evident that America should be open to immigrants from all parts of the world: America was to offer asylum to the oppressed and unfortunate. In the testimony in 1876, the idea was put this way:

The foundation-stone in our political edifice is the declaration that all men are equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to obtain these, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. We profess to believe that God had given to all men the same rights, without regard to race or color.¹⁴

¹²St. John de Crèvecoeur, Letters from an American Farmer (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1912), p. 44.

¹³Max J. Kohler, "Un-American Character of Race Legislation," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, XXXIV (July-December, 1909), 275-76.

¹⁴U. S., Congress, Senate, Views of the Late G. P. Morton on the Character, Extent, and Effect of Chinese Immigration to the United States, 45th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1877-78, No. 20, p. 1.

Some argued that as a mere matter of fairness, the Chinese should be given rights in the United States. They pointed out that since the American had rights and complete protection in China, even rights which were not given to the Chinese in the United States, namely, extra-territoriality, it was unfair to exclude Chinese from this country.¹⁵ Senator Morton, observed that anti-Chinese agitation occurred along the Pacific states because the Chinese had no voice in political affairs. The Chinese would live harmoniously with the whites if given a fair chance, and that "complete protection can be given them only by allowing them to become citizens and acquire the right of suffrage, when their votes would become important in elections, and their persecutions, in great part, converted into kindly solicitation."¹⁶ He preferred regulation to prohibition.

Senator Joseph C. G. Kennedy in February, 1878, also presented the idea of tolerance and firmly opposed Chinese exclusion. In his arguments given to the Senate he stated that even Cicero had declared that the inhabitants of the whole world constituted a single state or nation. This idealistic tradition had been incorporated in the fifth article of the Burlingame treaty between China and America in 1868. To any fair minded man, a law could not be passed in contravention of a treaty stipulation. He quoted Lord Derby who had told a

¹⁵Ibid., p. 2.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 4.

British minister in America that "Her Majesty's Government cannot assent to the proposition that the English extradition act of 1870 imposed a new condition upon the treaty of 1842"¹⁷ Kennedy urged also that it was quite unacceptable to violate the treaty against people who had brought California prosperity and who possessed high ethical standards as shown by the statistics of the industrial school for juvenile delinquents, the almshouse, and the hospital in San Francisco. Statistics offered by Mr. Kennedy, showed very few Chinese in these institutions.¹⁸

Mr. Kennedy also criticized the testimony before the Joint Special Committee in 1876 saying that it was improper and the methods used in taking it had been inadequate. Moreover, he regarded the resolutions of the committee as contradictory. Examples from testimony and statistics showed how much the Chinese had helped to develop California. In his opinion, the Chinese were intelligent, faithful, reliable, and would become valuable citizens.¹⁹

The ideas of tolerance came from a belief that the Chinese were valuable because they were former citizens of a country long civilized. Publications during the crisis of the 70's and after opposed the exclusion on the grounds of

¹⁷U. S., Congress, Senate, Arguments of Joseph C. G. Kennedy in Relation to Chinese Immigration, 45th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1877-78, No. 36, p. 1.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 7: Industrial school.--Total number, 225; born in China, 4. Almshouse.--Total, 498; native, 143; Ireland, 197; Chinese, none. Hospital.--Total, 3,918; born in the United States, 1,112; born in Ireland, 1,208; born in China, 11.

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 13-36.

justice. For example, George F. Seward, in his Chinese Immigration in Its Social and Economical Aspects (1881), pointed to Chinese virtues and charged that the testimony of 1876 was inadequate; Ho Yow, in his article "Chinese Exclusion a Benefit or a Harm?" published in the North American Review (1901), criticized the Chinese exclusion laws and gave his opinions in favor of the Chinese; and R. D. Mc Kenzie in his Oriental Exclusion, 1928, also presented opinions in favor of the Chinese, sharply criticizing the Chinese exclusion laws as the most inhumane act in American history.

With reference to the charge that the Chinese did not assimilate at all, or at best, very slowly, Mr. Kennedy pointed out that it required the Germans in Pennsylvania nearly a century to assimilate thoroughly with their neighbors and that they had not quite assimilated as yet. He concluded that the ability of the Chinese to adapt themselves to American society was the same as that of other nationalities. Moreover, as to the question of intermarriage between the Chinese and the American, it was evident that the Israelites, as well as the Catholics, denounced all intermarriage out of their Church. He then made a plea that America would be tolerant toward this race:

The Chinese are a sensitive people, who will not be outdone in acts of kindness or generosity. Give them the benefits of education in return for the school-tax exacted; try them with the ballot in return for the poll-tax they pay; cease persecuting them by personal assault, to which the law is blind, and iniquitous special legislation disgraceful to civilization; place them on an equality with the negro and white man; cease libeling them, and then judge whether they will not manifest a disposition to assimilate; but do not tie

them, hands and feet, and complain that they will not swim.²⁰

It was also argued that though the Chinese were capable of adapting to American institutions, adaptation might be very slow since the Chinese belonged to a nation civilized two thousand years before civilization dawned in Europe. Thus, to a people with such a history, Americans should be charitable. Many of the Chinese were educated and were excellent merchants and businessmen.²¹

After a series of Chinese exclusion laws had been passed, in 1898 Charles Frederick Holder argued against the prevailing opinion that politics as a profession was unknown to the Chinese. He thought that as a race they were politicians, whether in China or in America.

It was said that the Chinese political leaders succeeded in retarding the passage of exclusion laws. It was also well known that they were well organized and had real political skill. The Chinese Six Companies, the famous Chinese political machines, were a good illustration. When the Geary Act of 1892 passed, the agents of the Six Companies were sent to every city in the East to arouse a favorable sentiment among religious societies:

Every attempt was made to invalidate the enactment, and the spectacle was witnessed of American jurists employed by this Chinese political machine, fighting a law which meant virtual freedom to 100,000 coolie

²⁰Ibid., p. 19.

²¹U. S. Congress, Senate, Views of the Late O. P. Morton on the Character, Extent, and Effect of Chinese Immigration to the United States, 45th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1877-78, No. 20, p. 13.

slaves, and a livelihood to the American farmer and laborer on the Pacific slope.²²

Mr. Holder insisted that the Six Companies were essentially a sacred society, and that in no civilized country today was there a more influential organization in proportion to its size which discussed American affairs and boldly fought American laws than the one on the shores of the Golden Gate.²³

Moreover, the Chinese of the twentieth century were known to have political skill. The China patriot leaders like Sun Yat-sen worked for the Chinese revolutionists. The Republic of China contributed toward a better American attitude concerning Chinese political abilities. Americans admired its leaders and saw in the Chinese Republic a government of the western, even the American type. Finally, American-Chinese allied relations during the First World War and the Second World War proved to Americans how politically equal the two nations are. Furthermore, the fact that many Chinese-American societies had participated in the movement for repeal of the Chinese exclusion laws had itself demonstrated the political abilities of their members. Such evidences proved to most Americans the capacity of the Chinese for political participation in American society.

²²Charles Frederick Holder, "The Chinaman in American Politics," The Northern American Review, CLXVI (January-June, 1898), p. 229.

²³Ibid., 233.

II. American Ideas of Economic Drain and Danger as Opposed to Economic Benefit and Non-Competition

Anti-Chinese Arguments Based on Fear of Economic

Drain and Danger.--Besides the ideas that the Chinese were unassimilatable, ineligible, and undesirable to be American citizens, anti-Chinese feeling came mostly from the economic status of the Chinese in the American society. Through the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Chinese were believed to be a drain on the economy. The danger centered on the Pacific coast, the region largely responsible for the passage of the Chinese exclusion laws.

During the period from 1848 to 1867, when mining came to be dominated by a few large companies, the Chinese were mainly independent miners. The late 1850's and early 1860's were conspicuous for the absence of anti-Chinese agitations. The majority of Chinese after 1863 worked on the Central Pacific Railroad. Between 1868 and 1876 they were also attracted to the rapidly developing job opportunities in agriculture, industry, and construction projects. At that time, there were complaints about the Chinese weakness in handling heavy tools. Labor unions were opposed to the Chinese because they could be used as strike-breakers (Chinese ex-miners were seeking employment in town and countryside at very low wages).²⁴

From 1868 to 1876 the number of Chinese immigrants reached a new peak. It was the booming period of manufacturing

²⁴Ping Chiu, Chinese Labor in California (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin, 1963), PP. X-XI, 11-17.

industries in San Francisco; woolen textiles and clothing, shoes, and cigar and fringe industries thrived. During the second half of the 1870's, smaller manufacturers in San Francisco enjoyed the advantage of decreasing labor costs when the Chinese accepted low wages as they served as apprentices and journeymen at \$6 to \$20 per month. And as soon as they learned a trade, they desired to become managers themselves and recommended other Chinese to take their places. As a result, a number of sweatshops were owned by Chinese who were "quick to pick up the main features of the trade, and by way of reciprocating the kindness of their white employers in instructing them, they started factories of their own and began to undersell the white factories." A French manufacturer, who founded the first slipper factory in San Francisco found that "every Chinaman whom he employed in turn became a manufacturer . . . and today the Chinaman has driven France from the field." The late nineteenth century, then found virtual Chinese monopolies of manufactured products. Furthermore, because of the inadequacies of the San Francisco Labor Exchange agency, many large employers undoubtedly relied upon the services of contractors or employment agencies who imported laborers from abroad. And, the cheapest labor was said to be Chinese.²⁵ Thus, during the period of industrial expansion, a great number of Chinese laborers were to be found in California which became the center of the anti-Chinese feeling as a result of the jealousy of the white workers.

²⁵Ibid., pp. 90-127.

In the field of agriculture during 1850 to 1880, Chinese labor also played an important role because of California's lack of subsistence farming. California's farming was a business enterprise from the very beginning. Investment in land was larger than on other frontiers because of the high price of unemployed land. Moreover, farmers were tormented by declining world prices and high marketing costs. Thus, they looked upon the Chinese as a godsend. Before 1860 Chinese gardeners were concentrated in San Francisco and the mining counties. They were recognized for "patient docility and remarkable facility of imitation." Mechanical exactitude and singular careful operation of farming units depended upon the availability of Chinese harvest labor in the fields.

California's fruit industry has been primarily dependent upon this foreign cheap labor to this day. Henry Sienkiewicz who visited the United States during 1876-1878 described the Chinese agricultural qualifications as follows:

The antlike labor of the Chinese has transformed the sterile sand into the most fertile black earth . . . all the fruits and vegetables, raspberries and strawberries, under the care of Chinese gardeners grow to a fabulous size . . . At every hour of the day you will observe the long pigtailed, yellow gardeners now digging, now spreading manure upon the soil, now watering the vegetables.²⁶

Thus, while the Chinese were enjoying their business life and the whites were suffering, the most intensive anti-Chinese agitation was burdened with the problems of railroad,

²⁶Henry Sienkiewicz, Portrait of America, edited by Charles Morley (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), p. 257.

land, and other monopolies. And anything smacking of monopoly was certain to arouse instant antagonism. As the Chinese entered one field of activity after another, it was claimed that they not only drove out American laborers but also intended to monopolize the industry. It was always said that "when little capital is required, there the Mongol is sure to triumph."

As the immigration from China increased rapidly and the flood seemed never-ending, the Chinese spread into the hinterland. The 1870's were a transitional period in numerous industries from sweatshop to factory modes of production. And because of Chinese economic achievement, and depression of the 1870's, murmuring preceded the cry: "Chinese cheap labor is ruining us." This feeling was strong in San Francisco. The leader was Denis Kearney, an extraordinary Irishman. He was the representative of the proletariat, the majority of whom were Irish laborers unable to compete with the Chinese. When a depression fell heavily upon San Francisco in the 1870's, the Chinese were blamed. Denis Kearney then established the Workingmen's Party, whose slogan was "The Chinese must go." In those days, according to eye-witnesses, it was a common sight in San Francisco and other cities to see Chinese pelted with stones or mud, beaten or kicked, their vegetables and laundry stolen from their baskets and even having their queues cut. Some were seriously injured by attacking mobs.²⁷ In 1877, a storm of violence broke over the whole

²⁷Idwal Jones, "Cathay on the Coast," American Mercury, VIII (August, 1926), pp. 457-58.

city of San Francisco. Davie described this violent attack against the Chinese:

At the first of riots, 25 wash houses were set on fire. This was followed by an orgy of outrages. For months no Chinese were safe from physical assaults . . . If the Chinese attempted to escape from burning houses, they were invariably beaten and kicked, often robbed and shot, and sometimes compelled to die in the flames.²⁸

In short, these riots were due to the Chinese economic activities with which white workers could not compete. Sienkiewicz who visited California during this period (1876-1878) agreed with the popular view that cheap labor was threatening the white laborers:

A white man cannot work as cheaply as a Chinaman, for he requires more food and better living quarters instead of suffocating with a score of others in one hole. Finally, a white worker usually has a family, wife and children, whereas the Chinaman is alone.²⁹

During 1876-1877, the Joint Special Committee concluded with reference to the Chinese economic drain and danger that the majority of Chinese laborers were bound by undesirable servile-labor contracts for long terms of years; that the Chinese worked for less wages than white men, for their cost of living was very low, an amount insufficient to keep a white laborer from starvation; that their living was thus so much cheaper in all respects than white labor, that white labor found it impossible to compete with the Chinese; that the Chinese had monopolized the following occupations: cigar-making, box-making, boot and shoe-making, slipper-making,

²⁸Maurice R. Daview, World Immigration (New York: Mc Millan Co., 1949), p. 312.

²⁹Sienkiewicz, op. cit., p. 262.

bag-making, manufacturing of clothing, manufacturing of ladies' and children's underwear, mining, fishing, vegetable raising, fruit-picking, peddling of all kinds of fruit, vegetables and fish, laundry business. There were about seven thousand Chinese domestic servants who had excluded white women generally from such occupations as cooks, nurses, dish-washing, waiters, and so forth. There was still an abundance of white labor to carry on those businesses without the employment of Chinese and they were willing and anxious to work, but could not find employment because of Chinese competition. Testimony showed that the Chinese traded among themselves, and bought little from the white citizens; that their trade was entirely among their own people, and in a large number of cases they imported directly from China all that they ate, drank, and wore; that the earnings of the Chinese were exported to China, causing a constant drain upon American wealth, and a constant flow of the precious metals from the United States to China, without any return; and that, in a word, they did not add to the wealth of our country as other residents did.³⁰

In 1888, when discussion about the Chinese problems was going on, Willard B. Farwell stated in The Forum that the Chinese had to be excluded though he admitted benefits that had resulted from Chinese immigration into California. But, he believed that the progress would still have been made in the country without the aid of the Chinese or any other

³⁰U. S., Congress, Senate, Chinese Immigration, 44th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1876-77, No. 689, p. 33.

servile labor:

Had the Chinaman never migrated to California, American energy and industry would still have achieved an equal advancement there, with this difference, that there would have been fewer very rich men, while the earnings of labor that have disappeared from the state forever would have remained there to better the condition of the American wage-earner, and so to advance the welfare of all.³¹

And A. E. Yoell, the Secretary of the Asiatic Exclusion League in San Francisco, supported the Asiatic exclusion, basing his conclusion on the idea that at an early date, Chinese competition occurred in some lines, but later on, at the turning of this century, "every trade, has been invaded, in some instances to the absolute exclusion of the Caucasian element." He felt no self-respecting Americans would enter into competition with Mongolians who were regarded as inferior.³²

Ideas of Chinese Economic Benefit and Non-Competition.

--On the other hand, some Americans felt that the Chinese were not competing with the whites and that they actually benefited America economically. Mr. O. P. Morton, a Senator who was the chairman of the Joint Special Committee, after he had investigated the matter and studied the testimony felt this way. However, it was only a minority who favored Chinese immigration on the basis of their economic benefits to the United States.

³¹Willard B. Farwell, "Why the Chinese Must be Excluded," The Forum, VI (1888), 198.

³²A. E. Yoell, "Oriental vs. American Labor," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, XXXIV (July-December, 1909), 247.

The evidence showed that by Chinese labor, over one million acres of waste lands had been reclaimed. And this reclaiming of land was work of the hardest and most unhealthy character. The Chinese had worked for a long period of time in mud and water. The lands so reclaimed were later occupied and cultivated by white men, furnished grounds for many homes, and were, in fact, the richest and most productive in California. The evidence further showed that the lands along the railroads chiefly constructed by Chinese, were pioneer lands in settlement and agriculture. In regard to the effect of Chinese labor, Mr. B. S. Brooks, a distinguished lawyer in San Francisco testified:

I have no doubt that the importation, or rather the immigration, of Chinese to this State has increased its wealth at least one-half; I think a great deal more. In the first place, the works which they have constructed, and which I think would not have been constructed without their aid, have immediately increased the taxable wealth of the State at least one-half. In addition to that, I am satisfied that they have increased the white population of the State in almost the same proportion, if not quite. I think, without their aid at the present time, the population of the State could not be maintained at more than one-half its present amount, if to that extent. I am satisfied from the inquiries that I have made from all parts (and it is impossible for me to present all these witnesses before you) that the product of the State, its chief export, wheat, cannot be produced at the price at which it can be exported if the cost of production is increased at all. There is a considerable portion of the State, including the land that has been cultivated, which will not bear cultivation at the present time; that is to say, the crop which it will produce will not pay at the present price of wheat here for export, and it will not pay the cost of its production. The yield of wheat from these lands, as everyone probably knows without my testifying to it, steadily decreases.³³

³³U. S., Congress, Senate, Chinese Immigration, 44th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1876-77, No. 689, p. 902.

In addition, Mr. Morton felt strongly that Chinese labor had opened up many avenues and new industries for white labor; that the Chinese had made many kinds of business possible; that the presence of the Chinese held out the prospect for labor at reasonable rates, induced the transfer of large amounts of capital and immigration to California and of large numbers of business and enterprising men; and, lastly, that the laboring men of California had ample employment, and were better paid than in any other part of the country.

After the Chinese Exclusion Law, there were still arguments over Chinese problems. Ho Yow, Imperial Chinese Consul-General, presented an argument against the exclusion which was outstanding. He insisted that Chinese labor was not cheap nor had it degraded American laborers. He felt that one of the greatest and most potential instruments for the creation of wealth was the Chinese laborer. Millions of acres of unused land became profitable because of the arrival of able-bodied men of mature age who were capable and willing to work. And while the Chinese were charged with sending money home which decreased the circulation of money in American markets, he argued that Americans were also sending much money out of the country; that in fact, they sent out as much. And in answer to the accusation that the Chinese did not consume their share of American products and that they imported them from their own native land, Ho Yow said that this was profitable for Americans:

The fact that the Chinaman does not consume all his share is of the highest advantage to you. If he claimed his full share and ate it all, he would be

in one aspect an influence promoting scarcity; if he were an epiphyte--if he could live on air alone--so that he would, work on and produce and leave it all for you to consume and profit by, would it not be better for you? It would certainly have to find consumers, and the abundance which he leaves would go to increase your share.³⁴

According to Ho Yow's opinion, when the Chinese laborers went home, they had learned how to develop their own country and were familiar with American goods. Upon their return they opened importing establishments and so extended the trade of America--the returned Chinese had introduced American ideas, American goods and plated American desires in Chinese districts.

Those who were against Chinese exclusion argued that Chinese labor did not compete with white labor. Mr. Morton also stated that: "The great fact is, that there is today, and always has been, a scarcity of labor on the Pacific coast. There is work for all who are there both white and Mongolian, and the State would undoubtedly develop much more rapidly were there more and cheaper labor."³⁵ At the same time, many witnesses who were manufacturers stated that they were willing to employ white laborers if they accepted those low jobs and would be paid more than Chinese laborers according to their skill and abilities. But the fact was that these white laborers, themselves, did not want to compete with the Chinese whom they looked upon as inferior. Dr. Coolidge, an associate

³⁴Ho Yow, "Chinese Exclusion, a Benefit or a Harm?", The Northern American Review, CLXXIII (September, 1901), 326.

³⁵U. S., Congress, Senate, Views of the Late O. P. Morton on the Character, Extent, and Effect of Chinese Immigration to the United States, 45th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1877-78, No. 20, p. 6.

professor of Sociology at Stanford University, emphasized that white laborers were not replaced by the Chinese, that unemployed white laborers were unfit for California occupations.³⁶ She further argued that Chinese labor did not take the places of women and boys because during the Kearney period women constituted less than six per cent of the total number in gainful occupations, and about fifty per cent of those in the sewing trades in which the Chinese were ten per cent. The wages of women in every line of household work had remained far higher than anywhere in the United States.

The Chinese were often charged with having a low standard of living. Dr. Coolidge said the fact was that while they came here to save money, they always lived within their incomes, whatever they might be, and would starve before they would beg. They could and did live cheaper than American workingmen because they knew how to feed themselves more efficiently, though cheaply. In place of bread and potatoes, they used rice which cost two or three times as much but is far more nutritious. If very poor, they ate fish, and an immense variety of chicken and pork whenever they could afford it. Indeed, the Chinese then spent a good deal of money in feasts and banquets and were fond of good eating. When paid off, they sent money home to their wives and parents. They gambled little, smoked little, and went to the theatre occasionally,

³⁶Mary R. Coolidge, "Chinese Labor Competition on the Pacific Coast," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, XXXIV (July-December, 1909, 347.

but were self-restrained in their pleasures as in their virtues. They differed from many others in two ways: they spent less in lodging and they rarely spent all they had because they have an inborn thrift akin to that of the New Englander.³⁷

Finally, in the twentieth century, some Chinese supporters have pointed to the loss of American international trade because of American hostilities toward the Chinese and the Japanese. They had hopes that the repeal of the exclusion laws would bring much profit to the United States. Honorable Charles F. Dewey, a member of Congress from the state of Illinois hoped for economic benefits:

China possesses within its continental limits hundreds of items of raw materials that this country needs. They will come in no competition whatsoever but will be a means by which they will pay for the manufactured goods which they, themselves, need and which they may purchase from us . . . I think it is the most necessary that it be done, (removing this restriction and placing the Chinese on quotas) not only from that point of view but because they are our allies, fighting shoulder to shoulder with us and with our boys.³⁸

It can be said that anti-Chinese agitation based on economic grounds is also responsible for the passage of the Chinese exclusion laws. The fact that there were a lot of unemployed white workmen during the depression years of the 1870's, while the Chinese continued to succeed in their business life, made the whites frown upon the Chinese, blaming their competition in the labor market. On the other hand,

³⁷Ibid., p. 432.

³⁸U. S. Congress, House, Hearings of the Repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Acts before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization House of Representatives on H. R. 1882 and H. R. 2303, 78th Cong., 1st Sess., 1943, p. 194.

the minority tried to protect these Chinese by pointing to the increasing wealth of California, possible because of this Chinese cheap labor. As time went on, good relations between China and the United States, especially trading relations which brought profit to the United States altered anti-Chinese feeling. Increasingly, American merchants and businessmen pleaded for the repeal of the Chinese exclusion laws. And as the Chinese withdrew from occupations competing with the whites, it was no longer possible to say that "Chinese labor is ruining us."

In short, with the American anti-Chinese attitude in the 1870's, there came a series of Chinese exclusion laws. But in the twentieth century, anti-Chinese feeling faded and there appeared instead, a generally pro-Chinese feeling which brought about the repeal of the Chinese exclusion laws, to be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER V

CHINESE EXCLUSION LAWS AND THEIR REPEAL

I. Chinese Exclusion Laws

The passage of Chinese exclusion laws by the Federal government was, in part, the result of a sense of frustration at California's previous failures to regulate and to check the coming of the Chinese in the 1870's. About the middle of the 1850's, taxes had been levied by the state to prevent the Chinese from entering California; but such taxes were later declared unconstitutional. In 1862 when there occurred one of the early out-bursts against the Chinese, the first anti-coolie club was formed. Public opinion tended to identify Chinese labor with Negro slavery in the South, considering it a slavery not of law, but of condition and custom because "when the coolie arrives here he is as rigidly under the control of the contractor who brought him as ever an African slave was under his master in South Carolina or Louisiana. There is no escape from the contractor or the contract."¹ Misunderstanding intensified Chinese economic, social and political problems and led to the passage of exclusion laws. Before the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, not only had California's legislature passed many laws against the Chinese immigrants, but a

¹Elmer Clarence Sandmeyer, The Anti-Chinese Movement in California (Urbana, Ill.: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1939), p.26.

serious attack upon the Chinese came from the state supreme court which ruled: "No black, or Mulatto persons, or Indian shall be allowed to give evidence in favor of, or against a white man." This included Chinese because Chief Justice Hugh C. Murray held that American Indians and Mongolians had been regarded as the same human species. A leading issue of the California campaign of 1867 was the naturalization of the Chinese. Californians charged that the Chinese came to acquire a little money and then return home, that they were indifferent to citizenship. Both Democratic and Republican platforms declared opposition to admitting Chinese to citizenship. Finally, a Federal Circuit Court declared that under the naturalization laws the Chinese were ineligible to become United States citizens.² In 1860, California passed a law requiring that Negroes, Mongolians and Indians be excluded from the public schools, and authorizing the superintendent of public instruction to prevent these groups from attending. In 1870 all legislation affecting the public schools was consolidated into one act, called the "California School Law." It provided for separate schools for the white and for other races. The law was amended in 1880 to provide for segregated education for Chinese children.³

Though many burdens were placed upon the Chinese by the state legislature, many of the laws were declared uncon-

²Ibid., pp. 43-46.

³Shien-woo Kung, Chinese in American Life (Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press, 1962), p. 72.

stitutional; for example, the "cubic air" ordinance, and the "queue ordinance." The "cubic air" ordinance required a lodging house to provide at least 500 cubic feet of clear atmosphere for each adult person in an apartment. Since housing was unavailable, the result was that prisons soon were filled with Chinese. The "queue ordinance" required that every male imprisoned in the country jail be required to have the hair cut by a clipper to a uniform length of one inch from the scalp.⁴ Moreover, local legislation required every laundry employing one horse-drawn vehicle to pay two dollars and a quarter license fee, those employing two such vehicles, four dollars and a quarter, and those using none, fifteen dollars and a quarter. Since practically all of the Chinese laundries came under the third classification, the discriminatory character of the ordinance was obvious.⁵

Such crises in Western society as unemployment and business depression were sources of anti-Chinese feeling. When such crises came, trouble followed. These troubles then raised issues and were the source of political debate.

Before 1870, the demand for labor was always greater than the supply. The year 1868 marked the appearance of a new element which confused the situation--it was the Burlingame Treaty between China and the United States. Chinese immigration was given a new impetus. Before that year, with the single exception of 1854, Chinese immigration never numbered

⁴Ibid., p. 72.

⁵Sandmeyer, op. cit., pp. 50, 51.

more than 8,424. In 1868 the arrivals were 11,085, and the net gain was 6,876. In 1869 the net gain was 10,098. While the number of Chinese immigrants was greater, few avenues of employment were opened to them. In 1869, about ten thousand Chinese, and between two and three thousand whites were discharged upon the completion of the Pacific railroads and many of them wandered back to the Pacific coast. With them, there also came a stream of white migration from the Eastern states, which were struck by the panic of 1873.⁶ And about 1876, the effects of a general panic which started in New York City in 1873, reached California although depression set in there later than in the states farther east. Thus, in 1873, 1874, and 1875, approximately 150,000 immigrants from the East had entered the state. In addition, the flood of Chinese immigration reached a peak in 1876, when officials reported 22,943 arrivals. Unemployment in California increased. About 10,000 men were out of work. During the depression occurred the labor outbreak known as Kearneyism. Kearney's party which was influential in California crusaded under slogans against rich, monopolistic corporations and the Chinese.⁷ As a result of local conditions, the State Senate sent an address and memorial to Washington appealing for a national policy of exclusion:

⁶Ching-chao Wu, Chinatowns, a Study of Symbiosis and Assimilation (Chicago, Illinois: Chicago University Press, 1928), pp. 341-42.

Mayo Smith, Emigration and Immigration (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1890), pp. 236-37.

M. R. Coolidge, "Chinese Labor Competition on the Pacific Coast," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, XXXIV (July-December, 1909), pp. 341-42.

⁷Idwal Jones, "Cathay on the Coast," American Mercury, VIII (August, 1926), pp. 457-58.

During their entire settlement in California, . . . they (the Chinese) have never adapted themselves to our habits, modes of dress, or our educational system; have never learned the sanctity of an oath, never desired to become citizens, or to perform the duties of citizenship, never discovered the differences between right and wrong, never ceased the worship of their idol Gods, or advanced a step beyond the traditions of their native hive. Impregnable to all the influences of Anglo-Saxon life, they remain the same stolid Asiatics that have floated on the rivers and slaved in the fields of China for thirty centuries of time.⁸

Congress then decided to send a joint committee of both parties, the Democratic and the Republican, to visit the Pacific Coast. The resulting report was a violent condemnation of the Chinese. A witness stated that Americans and Chinese were "like wine and water, we will never mix . . . The first law of nature is self-preservation and to do this Chinese immigration must be discouraged."⁹

Since 1879 Congress had edged toward the passage of the exclusion law which was opposed by the Chinese representatives, American employers, and clergymen. However, a treaty was finally concluded on November 18, 1880. It was agreed that the United States could regulate, limit, or suspend the immigration of Chinese but not prohibit it. This paved the way for legislation. The President signed a Chinese Exclusion Law which gave rights of entry to certain exempt classes, but prohibited state and Federal Courts from naturalizing Chinese. However, there were still anti-Chinese movements for a

⁸Quoted by Foster Rhea Dulles, China and America (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1946), pp. 84-85.

⁹U. S., Congress, Senate, Chinese Immigration, 44th Cong., 2nd Sess., No. 876-77, No. 689, p. 1054.

complete exclusion law, because the first exclusion law did not satisfy the West.¹⁰ Numerous riots occurred in all the western states. For instance, during the autumn of 1885, a great orgy of anti-Chinese demonstrations swept across the country. The most serious riot took place at Rock Springs, Wyoming, where in one evening twenty-eight Chinese were murdered, many wounded and hundreds driven from their homes. The demonstrations against the Chinese also spread over the Territory of Washington where there were incidents at Black Diamond, Seattle, and Tacoma.¹¹ These riots were caused by unemployment and economic depression. An especially bad situation developed in Tacoma, when the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railroad threw many men out of employment and a great number of them crossed the United South route-border line. This made it easier to get the attention of the agitators.¹² The local authorities regularly refused to interfere to prevent or punish abuse of the Orientals. But, President Cleveland asked Congress to pay damages as an act of friendship to China.

All these anti-Chinese incidents increased demands for exclusion. In March, 1886 an anti-Chinese state convention was held in Sacramento to memorialize Congress in favor of absolute prohibition. And later in 1886, China undertook

¹⁰M. R. Davie, World Immigration (New York: Mc Millan Co., 1949), pp. 312-13.

¹¹R. D. Mc Kenzie, Oriental Exclusion (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1928), p. 29.

¹²Wu, op. cit., p. 56.

to prohibit the coming of laborers to the United States and later agreed to a treaty which would allow the United States a free hand in the matter. Then the Scott Act of 1888 excluded all Chinese except certain classes such as officials, teachers, merchants or travelers who all had to have certificates of identification.¹³ As a result of this act, Chinese laborers declined in numbers because the law also provided that Chinese laborers who left the United States should not be permitted to return, and that all certificates of identity issued to Chinese laborers in the United States who had left the country for temporary visits abroad under Section IV and V of the Act of 1882 should be declared null and void.¹⁴

By 1892, racial prejudice had not died out; due to opposition to the Chinese, Congressman Thomas J. Geary introduced a bill for sterner enforcement than had been provided in the Scott Act. With slight modification, the Geary Act of May 5, 1892 was passed and signed by President Harrison. It continued in force all anti-Chinese legislation for another decade. It provided that all Chinese had to have certificates to prove their right to remain in the United States. If anyone was found to be in the country illegally, he was to be deported unless he could show good reason for being in the United States.¹⁵

¹³Chester L. Jones, "Legislative History of Exclusion Legislation," The Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science, XXXIV (July-December, 1909), pp. 355-56.

¹⁴Kung, op. cit., pp. 84-85.

¹⁵Chester L. Jones, op. cit., 356.

The years between 1893 and 1902 marked a lull in concern over the Chinese immigration problem. Not until the expiration of the Act of 1892 became imminent did interest in exclusion of the Chinese revive. A bill passed that year by which all laws in force with respect to the Chinese were to be re-enacted. This bill which became the Act of April 29, 1902 extended the Chinese exclusion laws without limitation or condition, thus making exclusion definite and permanent. Not until thirty-nine years later did the Act of December 17, 1943, repeal it and fix the Chinese quota at 105 a year.¹⁶ The story of repeal of the Exclusion measures will be told later.

However, the last act of Congress providing for wholesale exclusion applied to Asiatic peoples was the Immigration Act of 1924--"No alien ineligible to citizenship shall be admitted to the United States unless such alien first is admissible as a non-quota immigrant . . ." In Section III, it excluded from the class "immigrants" government officials and employers and their families.¹⁷

Though the act of 1924 was obviously aimed at Japanese exclusion, it also affected Chinese immigration. In fact, for the first nine months of the operation of the 1924 act, the wives and minor children of merchants were denied admission on the grounds of ineligibility to citizenship. But on May 25,

¹⁶Kung, op. cit., pp. 84-85.

¹⁷Eliot G. Mears, Resident Orientals on the American Pacific Coast (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1928), p. 123.

1925, this barrier was removed and the entries of the Chinese merchant class including merchants' wives and minor children increased from 75 in 1925 to 424 in 1926. Thus, the Act of 1924 also changed the type of arrivals. It effected a change in the sex and age distribution of immigrants causing a reversal to the composition of pioneer Oriental immigration when Chinese male adults constituted the great bulk of admission.¹⁸ In short, although the Chinese had already been excluded, this act subjected them to additional rules and regulations.

II. Repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Laws in 1943

After 1882, the influx of Chinese immigration was decreasing to an extent that it no longer stimulated anti-Chinese feeling. Though actual immigration increased from 14,799 (1891-1900) to 20,605 (1901-1910), these immigrants were Chinese political refugees who were well educated and quick to be assimilated. As time went on, the Chinese withdrew socially, politically, and economically, as well as physically from the general community. They turned from those occupations which brought them into competition with whites, and developed art and curio shops, hand laundries, and restaurants specializing in unusual atmosphere largely serving Chinese food. In spite of their isolation, however, assimilation did occur. The Chinese learned to imitate American culture.¹⁹

¹⁸Mc Kenzie, op. cit., pp. 34-66.

¹⁹Berry Brewton, Race Relations (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1951), pp. 237-89.

During the 1920's, Chinatown in San Francisco where once was the center of Chinese hatred of the white became invaluable as a lure for tourists. During these periods, the American public was urged to "visit Chinatown" and the implication behind the invitations was "patronize Chinese stores."²⁰

Beside changes in Chinatown itself, there were other forces weakening the anti-Chinese movement. While social tension remained with the development of other threatening nationalities, the anti-Chinese feeling was reduced. Moreover, there was continued growth of pro-Chinese sentiment among the liberal and humanistic European and American philosophers who admired Confucian teaching. The missionaries and academic institutions had aroused a popular interest in Chinese ceramics, poetry, painting, garden and flower arrangements and the like. Museums developed their Far Eastern collections. The Chinese Society of America which started in 1911 issuing specialized journals and new publications brought cultural and political aspects of Chinese life before the public. The works of the famous author, Pearl Buck, influenced the American mind toward an understanding of the Chinese and contributed to making them seem socially desirable.

During World War II the popular glorification of the "heroic Chinese people" in their struggle against Japan reached great heights and created American sympathy for the Chinese. Meanwhile, the brave speeches of China's "first lady" Madame

²⁰Pardee Lowe, "Chinatown's Last Stand," Survey Graphic, XXV (February, 1936), 89-90.

Chiang Kai-shek, during her triumphant tour of this country, aroused a wave of popular sympathy for China. Martin Kennedy seized this moment to introduce the repeal bill and the House Committee hearings were announced for May 19, 1943 and the first meeting was called for May 25, 1943.²¹ On October 7, 1943, the committee favorably reported H. R. 3070 to repeal the exclusion laws and give the Chinese a quota which according to the immigrant authorities would permit 105 Chinese to enter this country and become citizens each year. In reporting the bill, the majority of the committee expressed regret over past misunderstandings caused by the exclusion laws and concluded, "It is fitting that the incongruity of discriminatory legislation which is inconsistent with the dignity of both our peoples, should be eliminated."²² And on October 11, President Roosevelt sent a message to Congress endorsing repeal: "I regard this legislation as important in the cause of winning the war and of establishing a secure peace . . . By the repeal of the Chinese exclusion laws, we can correct an historic mistake and silence the distorted Japanese propaganda."²³

The reasons for repeal of the Chinese exclusion laws were discussed under these following matters: political,

²¹Fred W. Riggs, Pressure on Congress (New York: King's Crown Press, 1950), pp. 30-35.

²²U. S., Congress, House, House Rules Committee Consideration of H. R. 3076, 78th Cong., 1st Sess., 1943, No. 735.

²³Robert A. Divine, American Immigration Policy (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), pp. 150-51.
U. S., Congressional Record, Vol. LXXXIX, 78th Cong., 1st Sess., 1943, p. 8476.

economic and social. American politicians of both parties came together for action for the repeal of the Chinese exclusion laws. The motivation was increased by the international situation for Japan tried to woo China from the Alliance by propaganda and broadcasts accusing Americans of unfriendliness, saying:

America is China's ally. Americans say they love and admire the Chinese. But can you go to America, can you become citizens? No. Americans do not want you. They just want you to do their fighting. Their Exclusion Act names you and says you are unfit for American citizenship.²⁴

Thus, in order to forestall Japanese propaganda upon the theme of Asia for Asiatics, to bolster Chinese morale, and to stimulate the fighting spirit of the Chinese, President Roosevelt urged Congress to repeal the exclusion law:

But China's resistance does not depend alone on guns and planes and on attacks on land, on the sea, and from the air. It is based as much in the spirit of her people and her faith in her allies. We owe it to the Chinese to strengthen that faith. One step in this direction is to wipe from the statute books those anachronisms in our law which forbid the immigration of Chinese people into this country and which bar Chinese residents from American citizenship.²⁵

It was also said that, because of the Chinese exclusion laws, Americans had been unfair to their faithful ally. There had been many unequal treaties between these two countries since the beginning of their relationship, especially treaties involving American extra-territorial rights over the

²⁴Time, "The Congress," XLI (June 14, 1943), 19.

²⁵U. S., Congressional Record, op. cit., p. 8576.

Chinese territory. It was unfair of Americans to so deal with a friendly nation, argued Mr. Fish from New York:

Why should we, as a sovereign nation, maintain warships upon a Chinese river that is entirely within another sovereign nation, especially one that is a friendly nation, such as China has been with us?

Why should we consider today the repeal of the Chinese exclusion laws, some of which were enacted over 40 years ago--call it what you will--it certainly must be a gesture of friendship.²⁶

Moreover, Americans had to admit that Chinese exclusion was unfair and discriminatory opposed to the principle of equal treatment to all men, since the Chinese had been excluded because of their color. In the hearings of 1943, some witnesses affirmed that the most important step to keep the Chinese in the alliance was to remove the racial stigma in American immigration laws.²⁷ Thus, Dr. Judd, a member of Congress from Minnesota hoped with reference to the bill to repeal Chinese exclusion that "this bill would remove that stigma of biological inferiority . . . It would start treating them as equals racially instead of as inferiors. It would be justice. That is what they want, just as we would want it if we were in their place."²⁸ Mr. Mc Cormack of Massachusetts also proposed the repeal on the ground of equality, justice and humanity among nations:

²⁶Ibid., p. 8574.

²⁷U. S., Congress, House, Hearings of the Repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Acts before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization House of Representatives on H. R. 1882 and H. R. 2303, 78th Cong., 1st Sess., 1943, p. 151.

²⁸U. S., Congressional Record, op. cit., p. 8589.

The legislation under consideration would grant to the Chinese right of entry to the United States and right of citizenship. It is a step toward salutary internationalism based upon justice and understanding. It is a denial of the false doctrine of racism and a reiteration of the American principles of equality for life, liberty, and happiness for all mankind.²⁹

Economic reasons for the repeal of Chinese exclusion laws were based on the fact that China would bring the United States vast amounts of profit from trading between these two nations. Since China is a nation of 450,000,000 people, contact between the United States and China will develop American industry and bring prosperity to both nations as stated by Hon. Charles F. Dewey from Illinois.³⁰ Moreover, China at that time was on the verge of a great industrial awakening, she then needed billions of dollars worth of American products and could pay for these goods because she had vast amounts of raw materials which Americans needed. Mr. Gossett from Texas stated in Congress in 1943 that:

China offers a vast market for the industrial output of this country. Billions of dollars of goods and equipment that may rust and rot in this country might well be marketed in China. Incidentally, China is by far the best potential market for many agricultural products of this country, including cotton, upon which my section of the country is so greatly dependent. Think for a minute what this trade and commerce with a resurrected and going China can mean in helping to solve the unemployment problem that will face this country in the post-war world.³¹

²⁹Ibid., p. 8579.

³⁰U. S., Congress, House, Hearings of the Repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Acts before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization House of Representatives on H. R. 1882 and H. R. 2303, 78th Cong., 1st. Sess., 1943, p. 194.

³¹U. S., Congressional Record, op. cit., p. 8582.

In conclusion, to remove the stigma of Chinese exclusion would strengthen the important program of post-war rehabilitation and stabilization of the politics and economy of both countries.

Most witnesses in 1943 had much confidence in the Chinese social desirability and the Chinese Americans including the third generation Chinese-born children participated in all the activities, recreational and social, offered by the dominant society, according to their various age and interest levels.³² In favoring repeal the Chinese exclusion laws, Mr. Kennedy wrote Mme. Chiang Kai-shek about Chinese qualities:

You Chinese are a nation of 450,000,000 souls. Your land is about one-third larger than ours. Several millions of you, including the President himself, are Christians. You have a cultural background of more than 4,000 years. Today you have compulsory education at the age of six, and your hundreds of universities, colleges, and technical schools exchange brilliant students with our own.³³

Even American labor unionists who had been the prominent opponents of the Chinese immigration dropped their opposition. When the period of contract labor with its resulting depression passed, America entered into a time of good feeling and understanding. Then, according to the majorities' opinions, the publicity efforts of the Citizen Committee succeeded in creating a growing popular demand for repeal of the Chinese exclusion acts. In that year, on October 11, President Roosevelt sent a message to Congress endorsing the repeal and it

³²Rigge, op. cit., pp. 28-37.

³³U. S., Congressional Record, op. cit., p. 8577.

ended the Chinese exclusion laws and gave the Chinese a quota of 105 Chinese to enter the United States and become citizens each year. Since then, there has been good understanding and relationship between both nations.

CONCLUSION

We have seen that from the beginning of relations between Chinese and Americans in the eighteenth century until the middle of the nineteenth century (when there were only a few hundred Chinese in the United States), Americans regarded them with tolerance, curiosity, and in a few cases, even with admiration for their civilization. But such attitudes, if general at an early period, did not last. Tolerance disappeared when the number of Chinese increased to an extent that seemed to threaten the very existence of the whites. The novelty of Chinese things and people was lost when the American saw a Chinese at every street corner.

Thus, when Chinese immigration became an issue in the latter part of the nineteenth century, although many opinions were expressed, underlying attitudes may be roughly classified into two groups: friendly and antagonistic. Those who were antagonistic to the Chinese easily discovered all their faults. Such Americans not only noticed all the blemishes in the Chinese character but they exaggerated them. If the Chinese were immoral, they were immoral to the very last degree. If Chinatown was dirty, it was so dirty that no white man could endure its filth. Figures imaginary or real, were quoted to support the views expressed. If the Chinese had any virtues, these

were overlooked and not mentioned.

Propaganda defending the Chinese was presented by those who were friendly toward them. The Chinese were looked upon as innocent, harmless, honest and beneficial to the public. If any Chinese had a fault, there was invariably an excuse for it. The blame for unsanitary Chinatowns had to be laid at the door of the municipal government. If the Chinese did not assimilate readily, it was because of American intolerance, and because the Chinese did not have the opportunity to mingle in American society. And if America was to be regarded as the homeland for the World's oppressed peoples, why should the Chinese be singled out for attack?

Inevitably, racial differences were regarded as a cause of Chinese "defects," and this, in turn, meant that racial prejudice could be appealed to when white Americans did not understand Chinese peculiarities. Racial prejudice, in turn, encouraged educated men to discover differences which would permit a theory of the superiority of white races over colored. It was this idea of racial superiority which convinced the majority of Americans who began to pass a series of the Chinese exclusion laws to prevent immigration of such an undesirable race.

However, after 1882, the slowing-down of Chinese immigration no longer stimulated anti-Chinese feeling. The Chinese in the United States had withdrawn socially, politically, and economically, as well as physically. They turned from those occupations which brought them into competition with whites.

Despite their isolation, however, assimilation did occur. Knowledge of the awakened and developing power of the Chinese and America's self interest combined to broaden and improve relations between the Chinese and the Americans. A simultaneous growth of pro-Chinese sentiment among liberal and humanistic European and American philosophers who admired Confucian teaching also was effective. In addition, missionaries and academic institutions had aroused popular interest in Chinese arts, even as museums developed their Far Eastern collections. Moreover, the situation in 1943, when Japan was trying to woo China from the Allies by accusing Americans of injustice toward the Chinese in the past, made Congress decide to repeal the Chinese exclusion laws in 1943.

In short, we can accept the fact that, the Chinese have, as we have seen, certainly proved themselves eligible for first class citizenship. Under the greatest hardships and legal restrictions, they have advanced themselves from virtual slavery to economic prominence and social and intellectual equality.

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CHANGING AMERICAN ATTITUDES TOWARD THE CHINESE
IN THE UNITED STATES

by

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AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

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ABSTRACT

Chinese immigration to the United States began in the middle of the nineteenth century. The first attraction pulling the Chinese laborers to the United States was said to be the discovery of gold in California. Other Chinese were pushed from their own country by social unrest. However, the first flow of the Chinese immigration, small in size, to the United States, was welcomed by curious Americans. Americans regarded them with tolerance and in a few cases even with admiration for their civilization.

But with the Burlingame Treaty, which assured free immigration, and the rising industrial need for labor drew Chinese laborers into the United States in great numbers in the 1860's and the 1870's. Moreover, like other immigrants, the Chinese tended to live among themselves, to ignore American society and to build their own community. Tolerance began to disappear when the Chinese increased in number to such an extent that they seemed to threaten the very existence of white laborers. On the West Coast, the Chinese monopolized almost every kind of business in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Antagonistic feeling against the Chinese was developed first by the white workmen and such antagonism was fortified later by studies showing racial superiority of white men.

These supported the belief that the Chinese were responsible for America's social unrest during the depression in the 1870's. There arose several movements asking for the Chinese exclusion. During the years 1870 to 1877, Congress appointed a joint special committee to investigate the problem in California. Both anti- and pro-Chinese witnesses testified before the committee, but the majority were against the Chinese because of their supposed racial, social, political and economic undesirability. The Chinese Exclusion Act was passed in 1882, followed by another series of Chinese restriction laws.

Arguments against the exclusion of the Chinese still continued, based on traditional ideas of American democracy and America as the land of the oppressed. Moreover, the slowing-down of immigration removed a major stimulus to anti-Chinese feeling. In addition, the Chinese turned from those occupations which brought them into competition with whites, withdrawing at the same time physically, socially, and politically. Even so, assimilation was taking place, making the Chinese American more like the Americans. In the 1940's, pro-Chinese sentiment became dominant with the Chinese alliance with the United States against Japanese aggression. Consequently, Congress repealed the Chinese exclusion laws in 1943.

The Chinese have, as we have shown, certainly proved themselves eligible for first class citizenship. Under the greatest hardships and legal restrictions, they have advanced themselves from virtual slavery to economic prominence and social and intellectual equality.